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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1791

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FRENCH VIEWS ON WARSAW PACT PROBLEMS

Paris LE MONDE DIMANCHE in French 4 May 80 p VIII

[Article by Manuel Lucbert: "The Warsaw Pact--An Instrument at the Service of the USSR"]

[Text] On 14 May 1980 the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty among the members of the Soviet bloc in Europe--the Warsaw Pact--will celebrate its 25th anniversary. As the answer of the Communist countries to the integration of the FRG with NATO, it stipulates, theoretically, respect for the independence and sovereignty of each member country. In fact, the Warsaw Pact is a political and military instrument for the benefit of the Soviet Union, which plays within it a dominant position and on which it has imposed the "limited sovereignty" doctrine.

A symbol of the "Soviet menace," regularly waved around in the West for some 30 years, the Warsaw Pact is the eastern counterbalance of NATO, which combines 14 countries with a liberal economy and a parliamentary system. Even though both proclaim their defensive nature, the two organizations are substantially different in terms of their basic concepts, internal structure, purpose and respective development.

The geographic factor itself would make a comparison between the two alliances difficult. The Warsaw Pact has the advantage of having a virtually single terrain, whereas the United States, the dominant power within NATO, is separated from its European allies by an ocean. On a territory with a depth such as the one used for maneuvering by the Warsaw Pact forces, communications are obviously easier and the terrain makes the transportation of heavy materiel easier.

This disparity in the situation is enhanced by the political and military weight of the Soviet superpower in Europe. However, the strategic dimensions of the USSR, its role as a regional power in Europe (and in Asia), along with its role as a world power, and its temptations to achieve hegemony, difficult to restrain by its allies both inside and outside the pact, also offer a certain number of inconveniences and constraints, which unquestionably weaken the effectiveness of the organization and to a certain

extent abate the fears it inspires. The preeminence of the USSR within the pact is manifested, on the military level, in the fact that it supplies two-thirds of conventional facilities and the sum total of strategic weapons and that it is the only one with a nuclear potential within the alliance. Furthermore, it is the Soviet Union that manufactures and delivers to its allies most of the most important weapons and equipment.

Why be surprised, therefore, that under such conditions the unified command of the pact has been, from its very beginning, an essentially Soviet agency. Starting with 1955 all commanders in chief have been Soviet marshals (successively Konev, Grechko, Yakubovskiy and Kulikov), as has been the case with their chiefs of staff. The Warsaw Pact is represented in the different ministries of defense of member countries always by Soviets.

Mistrust

Such a dominant position held by Moscow does not promote the structural integration of the forces or the command. Another factor which restrains all development in this regard: The Russians' mistrust of their allies, whom they do not wish in the least to put on a footing of equality, declarations of principle notwithstanding. In any case, the difference between the Warsaw Pact and NATO is clear. NATO's military committee is chaired on a rotating basis by a chief of the allied general staffs.

The weakness of the organic integration is also manifested in the relatively modest role played by the unified command. Its mission would seem to be essentially to have the forces ready, i.e., to train them and insure the steady modernizing of the armed forces. It seems to have no say about the deployment of nuclear armaments. In peacetime it enjoys only the right to control forces "assigned" to it in terms of their combat preparedness and participation in joint exercises. These forces remain fully under national command. Actually, integration has been accomplished only in the area of air defense.

Instead of integration of the command, the Warsaw Pact has a high level of standardization of the structures of the different national armed forces and armaments. Soviet norms have been adopted in terms of the structure of units, cadre training, operational procedures and regulations. Military science itself, according to a famous statement, has been "unified." Standardization of armaments is also quite advanced, even though Moscow quite frequently delays deliveries of new materiel to the armed forces of its allies, particularly those of the southern flank (Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania).

On the political level, the Warsaw Pact is an instrument faithfully serving the purposes of Soviet diplomacy in Europe. On the one hand, it aims at maintaining the status quo on the continent. On the other, it promotes the strengthening of the discipline and cohesion within the socialist camp.

In its time, the creation of the pact was not considered an aggravation of the cold war. On the contrary, it looked like part of a trend toward detente which was becoming apparent with the signing, at the same time, of the Austrian state treaty and the announcement of a Soviet-Yugoslav reconciliation. After all, it seems as though the USSR may have decided to take this step only after noting the vainness of its efforts aimed at neutralizing Germany through an agreement on European collective security. In March 1954 the USSR even thought of joining the Atlantic Alliance for the purpose of destroying it. This suggestion, however, was considered by the West as "unreal."

The German problem was the focal point of concern of the Warsaw Pact until the beginning of the 1970's. The conclusion of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties (1970) and the Berlin Quadripartite Agreement (1971) eliminated the urgency of the problem. Moscow and its allies were then able to dedicate themselves fully to preparations for the European Security and Cooperation Conference, the idea for which, announced in 1966 in Bucharest by the Warsaw Pact, had been taken up in Budapest in 1969. After years of discussions in 1975 this plan resulted in the Helsinki meeting of all chiefs of state and governments of Europe, the United States and Canada (with the exception of Albania).

In the absence of a peace treaty or a collective security pact, the conference met the main Soviet concern in Europe: the acceptance, one way or another, of the borders which came out of World War II and, therefore, of the existing spheres of influence. In this area, therefore, it could be said that the strategy implemented by the Warsaw Pact was successful. After Helsinki the Soviet leaders have persevered along the same way by submitting to the Westerners a variety of suggestions (agreement on non-resorting to force, on not being the first to use a nuclear weapon, etc), which followed a number of plans aimed at organizing the peace in Europe, formulated in the 1950's and 1960's.

Cohesion

However, in the past few years the differences between East and West on the attention to be paid, respectively, to the different aspects of detente (political, economic, military, humanitarian) and the resumption of international tension (with the convulsions in Africa and Asia) have shaken up the foundations of peaceful coexistence among European countries. Negotiations on the reduction of military forces, initiated in Vienna in 1973 between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, remain hopelessly bogged down. Personal contacts between East and West have fallen below expectations.

This is a delicate question facing the Soviet bloc. In fact, most of the leaders of the eastern countries fear an excessive permeability of the borders, which in their view is a source for disturbing the minds and even for destabilization. Was it one of the purposes of the pact, as confirmed by the Hungarian and Czechoslovak crises, to maintain order within the ca

and strengthen its cohesion? The latter, actually, does not need external contributions to break down occasionally. Less spectacular than the uprising of Budapest or the "Prague spring," yet more tenacious, the opposition which Romania has been bringing for over 15 years within the agencies of the Warsaw Pact is a nonnegligible factor of dissension.

Ever since the 1964 adoption of principles (national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference) leading to a more independent foreign policy, Romania has ceaseless waged a silent trench war against Soviet predominance. In 1966 it abstained from celebrating the 11th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact and demanded a certain number of reforms, such as the withdrawal of Soviet troops from foreign territories (this request did not concern it directly, for the last Russian soldiers had left Romanian soil in 1958), periodical rotation of the function of supreme commander and even, it appears, the sharing of nuclear responsibilities.

At the same time, Romania opposed Mr Brezhnev's intention of creating a "permanent and fast mechanism" to coordinate the foreign policies of member countries. Mr Ceausescu, the number one Romanian, pleaded for the dismemberment of the blocs and against the sending of troops into other countries. Loyal to this basic position, Bucharest abstained from participating in preparations for the intervention in Czechoslovakia, which Mr Ceausescu condemned strongly.

In order to avoid unpleasant surprises, since 1964 Romania has not allowed the conduct of joint exercises by the Warsaw Pact on its territory and has even abstained from participation in such exercises conducted in friendly countries, other than the sending of general staff officers. In November 1978 the Romanian chief of state made another splash by refusing to raise military expenditures as suggested by the Russians. The aggravation of international tension, however, led it, subsequently, to a substantial revision of its position.

Resistance

The Romanian resistance unquestionably embarrass or irk the Soviets. Yet it has not prevented the adoption of measures aimed at insuring better coordination among certain bodies. Thus, in 1969, a committee of defense ministers was set as a consultative body, while a committee of foreign affairs ministers was set up in November 1976. That same year the organization of a unified secretariat was announced as well, which was surprising since in principle such a secretariat had already been established in 1956. This example proves that the function of integration measures within the Warsaw Pact may also take place on paper only.

As too powerful in this alliance whose purpose above all is to insure it a protective cover, the USSR is not showing a clear interest in guaranteeing the more effective participation of its partners in its operational choices

and strategic orientations. Even though it is a collective security alliance, the Warsaw Pact was also set up as a guardian of socialist order in the East European bloc. This development introduces a factor of dissension (Romania) to the extent to which it restricts national sovereignties. Yet, quite to the contrary, nothing indicates that it could be reversed in the immediate future.

Status of Armed Forces

	USSR	Bulgaria	Czecho-Slovakia	Hungary	GDR	Poland	Romania
Total Forces Under Arms (x 1,000)	3,660	150	195	105	160	320	181
Number of Divisions	173	8	10	6	6	15	10
Number of Tanks	50,000	1,800	3,400	1,250	2,500	3,400	1,500
Number of Combat Aircraft	4,350	170	460	150	335	680	330
Number of Navy Ships (including submarines)	1,280	50	...	...	150	112	86

"Limited Sovereignty"

In its 25 years of life the Warsaw Pact has experienced two severe crises: In 1956, in the course of the Hungarian events, and in 1968, with the intervention of five "fraternal" countries in Czechoslovakia.

The text of the 1955 treaty calls for the use of armed force with a view to assisting a member country only in the case of "armed aggression in Europe" against one or several member countries, mounted by any country or group of countries (Art 4). Yet, the development of the Hungarian and Czechoslovak crises did not allow the USSR to invoke this stipulation and forced it to have recourse to ideological arguments to justify its interventions.

In both cases, Moscow's entry on the stage seems to have been motivated by the existence of a "counterrevolutionary danger" created by internal forces of reaction, supported and encouraged from the outside by the no less vague forces of "imperialism." In both cases, therefore, the USSR claims to have been confronted with "indirect aggression" which had to be terminated through adequate military methods.

Yet, as Charles Zorgbibe points out, the idea of indirect aggression dissolves in the final account in the more fluid notion of "counterrevolutionary threat."* It is significant in this respect that the appeal of the party members and the Government of Czechoslovakia, to which Moscow hastened to respond in the night of 20 August 1968, provides an analysis of the "reactionary coup d'etat" prepared by the "rightist forces" without even the least reference to foreign interference.

These two events emphasized another aspect of the Soviet attitude. The legitimacy of an intervention following the request of a legitimate government seems today accepted in international practice. Yet, neither in the case of Hungary nor of Czechoslovakia was this juridical base provided. The intervention of the Red Army in Budapest, on 4 November 1956, was not in answer to a request made by Imre Nagy, chairman of the Council of Ministers. On the contrary, he denounced it as an armed attack "whose purpose is to overthrow a legitimate democratic government." On 1 November in a cable to the United Nations secretary general, Imre Nagy had demanded the withdrawal of Soviet forces already on Hungarian territory, and had announced that his country was repudiating the Warsaw treaty and proclaiming its neutrality.

In 1968, for the first time, the USSR succeeded in involving four of its allies and having the Warsaw Pact endorse the operation (with the exception of Romania), even though it had been prepared by the Soviet high command. This did not make it any more legal. Actually, subsequently the Soviets acknowledged that the legitimate Czechoslovak Government had never requested their help. However, profiting from the circumstances, they imposed the thesis of the "socialist comity's right to intervene" to defend its gains, better known as the doctrine of "limited sovereignty."

The body of this doctrine, already glimpsed in 1956, was provided in 1968 in a number of statements made by Mr Brezhnev, who without making use of this expression himself, defined its content. In the first of these statements, on 2 July, the head of the CPSU stated: "The USSR cannot remain indifferent, and will never be indifferent, to the destinies of the building of socialism in other countries and the cause of world communism." On 11 November of the same year Mr Brezhnev specified that, "An initiative such as giving military aid to a fraternal country with a view to eliminating the menace threatening socialist order is an exceptional measure necessitated by circumstances. It can be triggered only as a result of the direct action on the part of the enemies of socialism within and outside the borders of that country, an action which threatens the common interests of the socialist camp."

This was the principle of the double responsibility of communist parties and socialist states on the national and international levels. True

*LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, April 1980.

internationalism should defeat the "efforts deployed by imperialism to undermine from within the socialist positions."

Nature of the Alliance

Contrary to the widespread idea, the Warsaw Pact, the political-military alliance of the members of the Soviet bloc, was not born of the desire to provide an immediate answer to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, set up under the aegis of the United States.

NATO was created in 1949. Yet it is only six years later, on 14 May 1955, that the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty, subsequently known as the Warsaw Pact, was signed in the Polish capital. Meanwhile, however, the USSR had signed with the five people's democracies bilateral agreements which were already weaving the fabric of dependence between Moscow and most of its satellites. This system of bilateral conventions remained following the conclusion of the Warsaw treaty and was even broadened, since each of the signatories was linked with other member countries through a series of specific agreements.

The direct reason which motivated the establishment of the Warsaw Pact was the joining of the NATO treaty by the FRG, on 5 May 1955, made possible following the ratification of the Paris agreements by the Western countries. The eight signatories were the USSR, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia. A Chinese observer was present at the signing of this birth certificate.

The treaty consists of a preamble and 11 articles. It was drafted in four languages: Russian, Polish, Czech and German. The explanation of the reasons specifically states that it was made necessary by the integration of West Germany with the North Atlantic bloc "which is remilitarizing." It reasserts the intention of the contracting parties to implement a "system" of European collective security. It proclaims the principles governing mutual respect for the independence and sovereignty of each member country, quite zestful considering subsequent events, and the noninterference in their internal affairs.

Furthermore, the Warsaw treaty proclaims itself open to all countries "regardless of their social and political system." Therefore, originally, it was not conceived as an instrument for the defense of socialism. The adherence of new members remains, nevertheless, based on the agreement of the members (Art 9). In 1976 the USSR and its allies suggested to the West the elimination of this clause and of the corresponding article in the NATO treaty in an effort to block the expansion of existing alliances.

The treaty sets up a joint command and a political consultative committee in which each country is represented and which meets, in principle, at least twice annually. The first commander in chief was Marshal Konev, a World War II hero. The armed forces of the GDR were officially integrate

within the pact only in January 1956. Albania left the organization in September 1968. It had ceased to participate in its operations since 1961. Since 1962 China has no longer been represented by an observer.

The treaty was concluded for a 20-year term. It will remain in effect for the following 10 years for the contracting parties which have not denounced it 1 year prior to the expiration of that period. It will become ineffec- the day a general European collective security treaty will be enacted (Art 11).

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PACT JOURNALISTS HAIL DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE PROPOSAL

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 10 Apr 80 p 10

[Interview with Svyatoslav Kozlov, NOVOSTI, Moscow; Istvan Takacs, BUDAPRESS, Budapest; Rolf Lehnert, PANORAMA DDR, Berlin; Ivan Ciganek, ORBIS, Prague; in Warsaw, date not given, by Marek Bierut, PAI]

[Text] Disarmament is the primary concern of the whole world. Peace, socio-economic development, and improving man's future depend on it.

For 3 days journalists from the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the GDR, and Poland held a roundtable discussion in Warsaw entitled "The Warsaw Pact--25 years in Service to Peace" that was organized by the Polish Interpress Agency [PIA]. The PAI journalist posed three questions to four meeting participants:

1. How important is disarmament in the policy of your country?

2. What is the reaction in your country to Edward Gierek's initiative calling for a European conference in Warsaw?

3. What is your press doing to promote the defensive concept of the Warsaw Pact?

Editor Svyatoslav Kozlov, Novosti Press Agency, Moscow:

1. At present, the primary concern of the disarmament problem is to stop the arms race, which assumed grave proportions, threatening controlled withdrawals, when NATO decided last year to deploy new American nuclear rockets in Western Europe. We all know what it means.

Such actions by the Western countries is proof of their desire to violate the principles of balance of power and existing parities, which, as

known, were achieved via the significant efforts of the USSR and other countries of the Warsaw Pact, which came into being later than NATO.

We believe that negotiations can be conducted only on the basis of equality. Every transegression of established parities by one side forces the other side to follow suit, and this inevitably leads to new armaments. Of course we are now concerned about slowing down this arms race. This would be followed by partial disarmament and then full disarmament.

Thus we favor all negotiations that lead to disarmament; it is the only way to achieve full detente--political and military--and thus a state of peace and security.

2. In this context, Edward Gierek's proposal for a European conference in Warsaw was received very favorably in the Soviet Union because it creates the possibility for concrete action. The location of the conference already has been indicated; now it is expected that a detailed program will be worked out so that all 35 European countries can contribute to it.

3. To a greater or lesser degree, the countries of the socialist commonwealth find themselves under constant fire from the West's mass media which initiate stories about threats from the East, stimulating a war psychosis. We do not wish to attack anyone, but the strength of the Warsaw Pact, which is the defense for the socialist commonwealth, is our top priority. During its 25 years of existence, the Warsaw Pact has proved to be an essential instrument of security guaranteeing peace in Europe and in the world.

Editor Istvan Takacs, Budapress Press Agency [Bulletin and Article Service of MTI's Foreign Language Editorial Office],Budapest:

1. I believe that our discussion presents a good opportunity to remind everyone that the agreements reached in Helsinki were initiated in Budapest. It was in the capital of my country, in 1969, during the conferences of the Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact Nations, that postulates were formulated which resulted in the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki in 1975.

The problem of maintaining peace is the most important question determining all of Hungary's actions in the international arena. This was reaffirmed by Janos Kadar several days ago in his speech at the final session of the 12th MSZMP Congress.

At present, my country's main foreign policy efforts are being focused on realizing the planned European conference that is to be held in Madrid in November.

2. As expressed in the Hungarian press, we believe that in the present international situation Edward Gierek's initiative can play a positive role. We live on the same continent of Europe, and like the Poles, we are building socialism. Our interests are the same. Therefore, my government will

cooperate in implementing the idea just as we did for previous Polish initiatives designed to promote peace and detente.

3. The goal of Budapress, whose publications are printed in five major languages, is to make plain our position regarding the international situation and to appraise current events. Much space is devoted to problems connected with the socialist countries, including the Warsaw Pact. Increasing the effectiveness of our influence will ensure that our subscribers, will be better informed than heretofore.

Editor Rolf Lenhert, Panorama DDR, Berlin:

1. Like Poland, the GDR's primary interest is that peace be preserved in Europe and in the world. Thus, disarmament is a top priority in the GDR. This is so because successes in disarmament have a profound effect on the process of detente, and the government of the GDR does everything possible to contribute to this process.

2. Edward Gierek's proposal has been received sympathetically in our country and has much support. I have a personal relationship with Warsaw. The first time I was here was in the early 1950's, and I still remember how the houses on Marszalkowska Street were being built. As a young journalist, I also witnessed the first friendly meetings between Polish and GDR youths. I remember the trip to our country of a delegation of Polish youths headed by Edward Babiuch, the present Polish premier.

We believe that all we have achieved in past years in the area of our bilateral relations as well as with regard to detente in Europe must not be wasted. Thus we support any initiative aiming to secure peace, and when it is linked with Warsaw, a city that suffered terribly because of war, it is especially moving to us.

3. Propagating the idea of peace is simply the main theme of our daily press activities. I believe that in the current complicated international situation we must increase publications that describe the mechanics of how tensions arise, exposing those political-military circles in the West which inflame the international situation.

Editor Ivan Ciganek, Orbis Press Agency, Prague:

1. Disarmament and detente, the main focus of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy, are discussed in our daily publications in articles, commentaries. Adn even as the achievement of progress in disarmament negotiations, to which Czechoslovakia assigns great importance and in which Czechoslovakia participates in all accessible forums, is a difficult and long-term project, so also is the systematic publication of pro-peace arguments the essence of our daily press.

2. At present, when so much is being said about the worsening international situation and a return to the Cold War, Edward Gierek's initiative has a

calming effect. The West, regardless of its present policy, must take a stand on such a proposition, and this very fact affects the development of events in the international arena in the direction we desire.

3. The answer to the third question is simple. It is sufficient to glance through our press, from the main press through the regional or Catholic press, to see that the problem of disarmament is constantly being discussed. Peace once achieved is not forever, and thus we believe the struggle for peace is an ongoing battle.

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NEWSPAPER COMMENTS ON HOXHA'S NEW BOOK ON EUROCOMMUNISM

AU211156 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 21 May 80

[ATA headline: "'Eurocommunism Is Anticommunism' Comrade Enver Hoxha's New Book'"]

[Text] Tirana, May 21 (ATA)--The newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries today an editorial on Comrade Enver Hoxha's new book "Eurocommunism is Anticommunism". The editorial entitled "Work of Great Value in the Struggle of Marxism-Leninism Against Modern Revisionism", reads:

Comrade Enver Hoxha's new book "Eurocommunism Is Anticommunism" came off the press these days. Alongside the other outstanding works of his, this book is another clear evidence of the unyielding principled struggle the Party of Labour of Albania has waged and is waging against modern revisionism of all shades, a new contribution of great value made by our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to this historic struggle. The book: "Eurocommunism Is Anticommunism" is divided in four chapters. The first chapter is devoted to the beginnings of the main trends of modern revisionism and its role in the strategy of imperialism. The second and third chapters deal at length with the problems which have to do with the formation, the anti-Marxist, reformist and opportunist essence and counter-revolutionary role of "Eurocommunism" in service of bourgeoisie and imperialism, as well as with the relations between the "Eurocommunists" and other trends of modern revisionism, while the fourth chapter treats of some fundamental problems of the development of the Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary movement at the present time.

The book "Eurocommunism Is Anticommunism" makes a profound scientific analysis of and powerfully exposes from Marxist-Leninist standpoints the opportunist-bourgeois theories and practices of the "Eurocommunists", their counter-revolutionary aims and deceptive tactics. The book not only criticises and refutes the viewpoints and actions of the Eurocommunist revisionists, mainly represented by the revisionist parties of Italy, Spain and France, but treats of and gives a way to solution to the great and acute problems preoccupying the revolutionary movement of the working class and the liberation struggle of the people today. Comrade Enver Hoxha's

book "Eurocommunism Is Anticommunism" enriches and further deepens the analysis the Party of Labour of Albania has made to the various trends of modern revisionism, like Khrushchevite, Yugoslav, Chinese revisionism, etc.

Comrade Enver Hoxha devotes a broad space in his book to the circumstances and causes that led to the formation and evolution of modern revisionism and its variant, trend. Comrade Enver Hoxha closely links the birth and the development of modern revisionism with the new strategy of imperialism and, first of all, with that of U.S. imperialism. His general conclusion is that revisionism is the product of allround pressure of the bourgeoisie and imperialism on the worker and communist movement and on the socialist countries, product of capitulation in face of this pressure.

The Roots of the View Points of the Eurocommunists Go Down to Proudhon, Bernstein and Kautsky, Browder and Other Opportunists and Renegades

Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses that the conditions of bourgeois legalism, in which the communist parties found themselves in many countries of the West after the destruction of fascism, the relatively peaceful development of capitalism, as well as the favourable economic circumstances in these countries in the early pe iod following the second world war, also linked with the flood of U.S. capital on the basis of the "Marshal Plan", the increase of the stratum of worker aristocracy etc. were some of the causes which became the source for the widespread of opportunist revisionist tendencies in Western Europe. "Under the pressure of these circumstances, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, "the programmes of the communist parties were reduced more and more to democratic and reformist minimum programmes, while the idea of the revolution and socialism became ever more remote. The major strategy of the revolutionary transformation of the society gave way to the minor strategy about current problems of the day which was absolutized and became the general political and ideological line". Thus, when Khrushchevite revisionism emerged on the scene, the terrain in such communist parties, as Italian, French, British, Spanish and others, had been prepared to embrace it and unite with it in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism. All the theories and preachings of the Eurocommunists, expressed in many official materials and documents of the revisionist parties of Italy, France and Spain, as in Berlinguer's speeches and reports, in Carrillo's book "Eurocommunism and the State", in Marchains' theses presented at the 22nd and 23rd congresses of the French revisionist parties, are subject to a profound and principled criticism by Comrade Enver Hoxha. He discovers that the roots of these viewpoints go down to Proudhon, Bernstein and Kautsky, Browder and other opportunists and renegades. Actually, as Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his book, "Eurocommunists joined the old European social democracy not only in theory but also in its practical activity. They merged into a sole counterrevolutionary current at the service of the bourgeoisie".

The Fundamental Aim of the Eurocommunists Is To Sabotage the Revolution and To Defend the Capitalist Order at any Cost

The fundamental aim of the Eurocommunists is to sabotage the revolution and to defend the capitalist order at any cost. To this aim, they deny the historic mission of the proletariat as the grave digger of capitalism and the leading role of the Communist Party. The Eurocommunists declare the revolution as undesirable, dangerous and useless, spread illusions about the bourgeois state which is presented by them as an above class state, prettify the bourgeois democracy as a democracy allegedly for all and its institutions as allegedly capable of carrying out the socialist transformation of society. They preach the "democratic" and "peaceful" transition to socialism through the so-called "reforms of the structure" in the framework of the today's bourgeois constitutions, without breaking the bourgeois state machine, they preach class cooperation with the bourgeoisie and its parties in the form of the "historic compromise" or of the "historic bloc of the left wing." All these and other antimarxist and counterrevolutionary preachings by the "Eurocommunists" become in Comrade Enver Hoxha's book an object of an all-round criticism, argued in a profound Marxist-Leninist way.

"Democratic Socialism of the Eurocommunists Is the Present Bourgeois Society"

The "Eurocommunists" proceeding on the footsteps of the 20th congress of the CP of the Soviet Union and of the anticommunist propaganda, denigrate with all means the genuine socialist society which is being constructed according to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, by presenting it as "antidemocratic" and attacking the dictatorship of the proletariat. They cast off the fundamental principles of the socialist society, such as the indivisible leadership of the proletarian party and the running of the economy by the socialist state according to the principle of the democratic centralism, liquidation of private capitalist ownership and its replacement with the socialist ownership, etc. they preach the "democratic socialism", which in essence is nothing but the exact and the most typical tableau of the present bourgeois society. "The society of 'democratic socialism', which the Eurocommunists preach today," Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, "is the bourgeois society which exists at present in their countries. They just want to touch up a bit, so that the old European bourgeoisie, with one foot in the grave, will look like a young bride, full of life and vitality. According to the Eurocommunists, all that is needed is a bit of retouching, retaining the state capitalist sector alongside the private sector, creating some workers consultative council attached to the management of enterprises, allowing the trade union bosses to call for justice and equality in the meetings in the squares, giving the revisionists a few seats in the government and...socialism comes automatically".

Eurocommunists--Enemies of the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples and Servants of Imperialism

The stand towards imperialism, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, has always been a line of demarcation which divides the genuine patriotic pro-

revolutionary forces, on the one hand, from the forces of reaction, counter-revolution and national betrayal, on the other hand. In this great principled and vital question, too, the "Eurocommunists" have completely shown themselves with their preachings, stands and actions that they are enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples and servants of imperialism. Through numerous facts and arguments, Comrade Enver Hoxha proves in his book "Eurocommunism is Anticommunism" that just as the revisionist parties of Western Europe became the defender of the bourgeois order within their own countries, they also became not less ardent fighters in the preservation of the imperialist system on an international scale, defenders of the bourgeois-imperialist status quo on all fronts.

The "Eurocommunists" Have Become Supporters of the Policy of the Imperialist Blocs

The "Eurocommunists" have become supporters of the policy of the imperialist blocs. They have expressed more than once their approval for the membership of their countries in NATO, they have proclaimed as a "reality which must be accepted" the European Common Market and united Europe, organisms these which, in collaboration with American imperialism, aim at preserving the exploiting capitalist system and the domination of the big monopolies, at suppressing the revolution and at enslaving the peoples. The Eurorevisionists, stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, not only do not oppose the American dictate, not only do not fight for the strengthening of the national independence and sovereignty of the West European countries, but pursue a reconciliatory policy towards the hegemonic and expansionist course of the U.S.A.

The Socalled Opposition of the Eurocommunists Towards the Aggressive Acts by Soviet Social-Imperialism Is Contradictory and With Half Voice

Even their socalled opposition towards the aggressive acts by Soviet social-imperialism is contradictory and with a subdued voice. The "Eurocommunists" condemned the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia, but G. Marchais openly supported the fascist occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet social-imperialism, on a whole, they have approved its interferences in Africa and the dispatch of the Soviet weapons through out the whole world. In each case and in each action, the Eurocommunists have abandoned the principles of proletarian internationalism, have given up their support for the revolutionary and liberation movements in the other countries.

Analysing the stands and actions of the Eurocommunists with regard to the international events, the struggle the proletariat and the peoples are waging at present against bourgeoisie and imperialism, Comrade Enver Hoxha draws the general conclusion that the socalled "Eurocommunist" parties have been transformed into institutions of the bourgeois power to sabotage the revolution and to preserve capitalism intact, into instruments of the imperialist policy.

Revisionism With the Gloves Off

The revolution of "Eurocommunism" down to "revisionism with the gloves off" as Comrade Enver Hoxha calls today's Spanish revisionism of Carrillo is the clearest testimony where the revisionist trend leads to. Bringing to the fore the cards of all the modern revisionists, the "Eurocommunists" not only came out against Stalin, but also against Lenin and Leninism, declaring that it is not acceptable to consider Leninism as the Marxism of our time, that Marxism-Leninism is outdated.

The rise of "Eurocommunists" against Leninism is fully in the logic of things..."like Khrushchev," writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, "who could not destroy socialism in the Soviet Union without getting rid of Stalin, the Eurocommunists cannot thoroughly undermine and sabotage the revolution without eradicating Lenin from the minds and hearts of the working people". The emergence of "Eurocommunists" against Leninism, stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha,is another service they make to the bourgeoisie, which has found in them zealous servants to attack Marxism-Leninism and communism from the ranks of the so-called leftists at a time when the tools of overt bourgeois and socialdemocratic anticommunism are discredited.

No Illusion Should Be Cherished About any of the Present-day Revisionist Variants

Comrde Enver Hoxha's book "Eurocommunist Is Anticommunism" gives a clear account how all the trends and variants of modern revisionism-Browderism, Mao Zedongism, Titoism, Krushchevism and "Eurocommuinism" irrespective of the certain differences between the, fully agree with the fundamental preachings, practices and aims, having as common denominator the hostility against Marxism-Leninism, towards the revolution, socialism and liberation of the peoples, the defence of the bourgeois and imperialist domination. They change only from the viewpoint of the interests of the bourgeoisie and imperialist groupings which they represent, as well as from the tactics they implement and the forms of struggle they employ. A clear testimony to this is Berlinguer's visit to China and the bargains with the Chinese revisionists, wiping out as non-existent their many year allegedly principled and profound divergences. To this speaks also the Marchais' conciliation with the Soviet revisionists, which was manifested so clamorously at the meeting of the revisionist parties organised in Paris by the Soviet socialimperialists.

The fundamental conclusion drawn by Comrade Enver Hoxha is that in order to carry forward the cause of the victory of the revolution, of socialism and the national liberation of the peoples, it is indispensable to resolutely fight to the end against all the currents of modern revisionism. No illusion should be cherished about any of the present-day revisionist variants, either Soviet, on the foundation of which lays the notorious course of the 20th congress of the C.P. of the Soviet Union, or Chinese which is based on Mao Zedong Thought, either Yugoslav or "Eurocom[illegible]

In the last chapter of his new book, Comrade Enver Hoxha treats of some fundamental problems which have to do with the development of the Marxist-Leninist movement, the strengthening and tempering of the revolutionary parties of the working class, parties which have set to themselves the task to raise and carry forward the banner of the revolution, of the liberation of the peoples and socialism, flung away by the revisionists.

Comrade Enver Hoxha devotes special attention to the work of the Marxist-Leninist parties with the masses so as to prepare them for the future revolutionary battles, to the work in the ranks of the working class and the stand of the party towards the trade union movement for the attainment of the unity of the working class, in struggle both against the opportunist and liberal views, and the sectarian ones, to the work of the party in the ranks of the bourgeois army, etc.

Neither the Frenzied Resistance of the Bourgeoisie, nor the Betrayal of the Modern Revisionists Can Save Capitalism From its Inevitable Doom

The revolution and socialism, stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha in conclusion, represent the only key the proletariat and the masses are in need of to solve the irreconcilable contradictions of the capitalist society, to put an end to their oppression and exploitation, to establish the genuine freedom and equality. "Capitalism, he writes, "is doomed by history to be liquidated. Nothing, neither the frenzied resistance of the bourgeoisie, nor the betrayal of the modern revisionists can save it from its inevitable doom. The future belongs to socialism and communism".

With the publishing of Comrade Enver Hoxha's book "Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism" which is another important event in the ideological life of our party and country, our communists and working people have in their hands a powerful weapon for their ideopolitical elevation, which will assist them to raise to a new height and to make more effective their struggle against modern revisionism, to understand still more profoundly the line of the party and the situations in the world today, to always accomplish with success their great tasks in the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland.

CSO: 2020

TRADE UNION LEADER NUSHI COMMEMORATED

Protector of Purity of Marxism-Leninism

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Apr 80 p 2

[Article by Rita Marko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party, Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions: "Gogo Nushi--A Brilliant Leader of the Party, A Passionate Spokesman for the Working Class"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Gogo Nushi left us 10 years ago, on 9 April 1970. In every assignment entrusted to him by the party, as secretary of the party Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions and deputy chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front, Comrade Gogo Nushi worked with devotion and put all his forces and talent in executing the line of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, for the interests of the people, for the advancement and prospering of the country. He took an active part in the formulation and implementation of the party program for the socialist industrialization of the country, for the collectivization of agriculture.

He was always vigilant and principled in defending the Marxist-Leninist line and unity of the party. Under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, he struggled unceasingly for the eradication and elimination of the sectarian group spirit, against any attempts to split the party and against anti-Marxist, Trotskyite, and opportunist activity, from the anti-party factions of Sadik Premte to the dangerous plot of Koci Xoxe, from the opportunism of Sejfulla Maleshova to the anti-party and sabotaging activity of Bedri Spahiu, Tuk Jakova, etc.

Comrade Gogo Nushi was a determined fighter against both the domestic enemies and the foreign enemies of the revolution and of socialism. As a pupil and close comrade in arms of Comrade Enver Hoxha, he struggled for the protection of the purity of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism and all enemies of the revolution. Defending the principled stands of our party, he struggled against the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the Yugoslav revisionists and

against their anti-Marxist interference in the internal affairs of our country and party. Comrade Gogo Nushi was in the vanguard of the principled struggle which our party carried on against Khruchchevite revisionism, of the titanic struggle to protect Marxism-Leninism and the noble interests of the revolution and of our fatherland and in the determined and unwavering struggle against US imperialism and all reactionaries for the protection of the freedom and independence of the fatherland. With the same energy, he defended, in the international sphere, the line of our party on ideological issues dealing with the Trade Unions, exposing the views of the modern revisionists who betrayed Leninist principles on the role, duties and mission of the Trade Unions, as well as the views and attitudes of all opportunists and traitors, agents of the bourgeoisie in the bosom of the working class movement.

Enemy of Concessions, Compromises

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 9 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by Pilo Peristeri, Candidate mamber of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party: "Gogo Nushi--Brilliant Leader of the Party, of the State and of the Working Class"]

[Excerpts] Gogo Nushi was a close friend of Enver Hoxha, who was staking out the future of the country [in 1940]. He did what he said he would do. There was no wavering in his execution of the tasks assigned to him. Gogo, who supported Comrade Enver without reservation, was one of those who laid the first stone in the foundation of our party.

What force motivated our comrade Gogo? The party line and reliance on Marxism-Leninism. He was a determined fighter for the rigorous implementation of Marxism, a consistent person, an enemy of concessions and compromises.

Following the example of Gogo Nushi, untiring Communist militant, faithful unto death to the ideals of the party and inspired by the special and rare qualities of his character, keeping in mind and heart the teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha, socialist Albania has undergone great transformations in the past 10 years and has raised even higher the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, while tearing off the hypocritical mask of the Chinese revisionists. Once again, we are breaking the blockades and encirclements and we promise all our comrades who are no longer among us that we will keep pure the ideals of the party and will defend with our life the victories which we have achieved and Marxism-Leninism.

CSO: 2100

BRIEFS

EARTHQUAKE REPORTED--The Albanian seismological network registered an earthquake yesterday at 2203 hours, with a strength of 5.7 on the Richter scale and with its epicenter 250 kilometers northeast of Tirana. The tremors of this earthquake in our country were felt in Kukes with a strength of 5 degrees; in Bajram Curri, Puke, Shkoder and Peshkopi with a strength of about 4 degrees; and in Tirana with a strength of 3 degrees. [Text] [AU191945 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 19 May 80]

CSO: 2100

CIVIL DEFENSE MEASURES IN AGRICULTURE OUTLINED

Mincho Pankov Interviewed

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1980 pp 2-3

[Text] A representative of this periodical met with Comrade Mincho Pankov, first deputy chairman of the National Agroindustrial Union, whom he asked some questions related to the work of the union's management on preparations for the protection of animals, plants, and agricultural output from modern weapons, or in the case of natural disasters or major production accidents, and on upgrading agricultural stability in wartime.

Following are the questions and answers.

Question: Comrade deputy chairman, how do you assess the new structures in agriculture from the viewpoint of preparations for the protection of animals, plants, and agricultural goods in a critical situation?

Answer: The Bulgarian Communist Party and the government of the Bulgarian People's Republic are firmly and systematically implementing the Leninist peace loving policy of eliminating the threat of a new war, detente in the military area as well, and the resolution of international problems through talks. This policy reflects the sincere aspirations of our toiling people, of all socialist countries, and all progressive mankind.

Contrary to this policy, the NATO reactionary circles and forces are trying to promote chauvinistic and revanchist feelings, aggravate tensions in various parts of the earth, and stockpile nuclear missile weapons for the purpose of waging a war destructive to mankind.

The hatred and predatory appetites of reactionary imperialist forces increase with the consolidation and strengthening of the socialist system and the increase of its power and influence. This calls for steadily strengthening the ranks of peace-loving forces and for

improving the defense system of the socialist comity. Raising the defense capability of our socialist homeland is a prime task. It is becoming the duty and honor of every Bulgarian citizen.

Agriculture, the food industry, and agricultural machine building, which insure the feeding of the army and the people, and the production of basic industrial raw materials, play an exceptionally important role in raising the defense capability of the country. We are resolving this highly-patriotic problem by coordinating our efforts with those of the state economic organs and organizations, in order to secure the overall protection of the population and the country's economy.

That is why along with the creation of large-scale profitable agricultural enterprises, with high-production concentration and specialization, we are taking measures to develop combat-capable civil defense formations within the NAPS [National Agroindustrial Union] system. Our attention is focused on making such formations structurally and organizationally responsible for our part of the production-organizational and administrative structure of the sector. This is because the organization of a modern consolidated socialist agriculture, which offers a number of advantages from the production viewpoint, becomes quite vulnerable to an enemy attack. The high concentration of output and of productive capital, including livestock, within big production enterprises, entails the great danger that they may be striken by a modern war or a natural disaster. The use of biological means for striking large-scale livestock farms and crops may trigger mass mortality and high percentages of abortions amoung the livestock, as well as greatly reduce crop yields.

Along with improving the production organizational and management structure of the NATC and its branches, this also calls for developing an overall civil defense organization entirely suitable under our conditions. Now, with the opening of new positions in the okrug services, on "Livestock and Plant Protection" (Z ZhR) and in the agricultural-scientific institutes, an effective civil defense organization is being set up within the NAPS system, which will be able to insure high-level organization in the work, more systematic training of the personnel, and overall implementation of civil defense measures. We believe that the new organization will enable us to adopt a proper approach to and entirely resolve the problem of determining the stability of national economic sites.

Question: What are the measures planned within the NAPS system to increase the training and responsibility of cadres for the implementation of protective and rescue measures in agriculture, the food industry, and agricultural machine building?

Answer: It is no secret that the results of the implementation of assignments depend on the level of personnel training and the skill of the specialists. In other words, in Suvorov's words, "more sweat in

training less blood in battle." This maxim is no less in our sector, for along with the protection of people and material values, we must also protect another category of living organisms which are also a capital asset: livestock and plants. Their protection is quite specific and complex. At the same time it is a highly responsible and important task facing both the sector and the entire country. It would be difficult to imagine the consequences to our economy should we allow the elimination of our animal husbandry and crops. That is precisely what forces us to seriously train our specialists and workers.

The main prerequisite for success in this respect is the implementation of all the measures included in the order of the chief of the GO [Civil Defense] of the Bulgarian People's Republic for the new school year. The implementation of our planned training and training-method meetings, staff training exercises, comprehensive exercises, and other measures are the basis for achieving high-level training.

We pay the necessary attention to the mandatory and differentiated training of the NAPS personnel. In order to improve training results, we're planning both this year and the next to build and equip training-method classrooms in all APK [Agroindustrial Complexes], PAK [Industrial-Agrarian Complexes], NPK [Scientific-Production Complexes], and other agricultural enterprises and scientific units.

In addition to the ordered measures, the specialized chairs of our higher educational institutes offer every year GO courses for agricultural and food industry specialists. The purpose of such courses is to upgrade the operative-tactical and combat training of the managerial and command personnel and their skills to properly plan and organize training and to head the production activities in their enterprises in complex critical circumstances.

Preparations for the training of agricultural specialists were completed as early as 1977. This year we shall complete the training of food industry technology and engineers. At the same time, we have already organized, for the second time, a course for agricultural specialists. In 1980 it will be attended by veterinarians from okrug veterinary medicine centers.

In 1979, together with the GO staff of the Bulgarian People's Republic, we organized in the GO schools a short training course for APK and PAK chairmen. The reorganization within the NAPS system, last year, however, did not make it possible to offer this course. This measure will be implemented in the next one to two years.

Question: The purpose of GO formations in agricultural areas has not only wartime but important peacetime aspects. What activities are being developed by GO staffs and services within the NAPS system to [illegible]

the readiness of formations, machines, and inventory for rapidly eliminating the consequences of natural disasters and major production accidents?

Answer: I already mentioned that a great deal is being done to upgrade the training of our formations and I believe that our efforts are not being wasted. Let us take as an example the personnel of the specialized detachments set up in veterinary and crop growing institutes. They have facilities for providing highly skilled aid in the case of stricken livestock and crops. On the basis of the results of intensive long studies conducted by noted Bulgarian scientists in the various agricultural sectors, the laboratories can process samples at all times and provide competent conclusions on proceedings should damages to plants, crops, soil, and water, caused by radioactive substances, poison gases, or bacterial means be detected.

The troops and commanders of site formations, including the personnel of the livestock and plant protection crews have acquired considerable experience and practical skills in providing aid in the contamination centers (OZ).

The skill of site formations in the food industry in decontaminating and utilizing contaminated goods has been upgraded considerably. Consequently, the formations within the NAPS system could be relied upon also in engaging in rescue operations in the case of natural disasters or major production accidents.

Why are we paying such great attention to this question? It is well known that projects involving agriculture, the food industry, and agricultural machine building are spread virtually throughout the country. This means that any natural disaster, be it an earthquake, flood, or mass fire, would inevitably affect the entire sector--agriculture, the food industry, and agricultural machine building.

The problem of industrial accidents is similar. They may hit any industrial target. However, directly or indirectly they would caure adverse consequences affecting some agricultural projects.

Futhermore, a number of enterprises such as Grain and Fodder Crop Industry, Water Resources, Bulgarplod DSO [State Economic Trust], and others, conceal the potential danger of major industrial accidents, for their output is related to high-level dust pollution, the use of toxic substances, gases, high-pressure autoclavs, and big water reservoirs and systems.

Other disasters include mass epizootics in animals and elphytotics in plants which could break out in some parts of the country.

All this obligates us to adopt a serious attitude toward the training of the formations, to upgrade this training and combat preparedness, and to equip them with modern material facilities so that, in addition to wartime circumstances, they may act quickly and accurately in eliminating the consequences of natural disasters and major industrial acidents.

Question: In your view, what are the problems on which the livestock and plant protection services in the okrugs and the managments of the APK, PAK, and NPK should pay particular attention in training the GO formations in the new school year?

Answer: In the course of their training, in the new school year, the GO services and formations within the NAPS system will have to carry out, above all, the basic measures stipulated in the order of the chief of the GO of the Bulgarian People's Republic. The specific nature of protective and rescue measures in agriculture and the food industry call for mastering and perfecting methods of veterinary and plant protection control, and the identification of agents of diseases and pollution. The managers of the okrug ZZhR services and the site formation commanders in the food industry will have to upgrade their own knowledge. They must learn to skillfully guide their formations in engaging in rescue and emergency accident repair operation (SNAVR). This will mean that improvments must be made in the organization of proper decision making, issuing assignments to the performers, and skillfully directing forces and facilities. Comprehensive enterprise exercises will contribute particularly greatly to this. This will require the creation of complex circumstances and the enactment of all units involved in the protection of the livestock, plants, and agricultural goods. At such exercises all problems related to the implemenation of protective measures and rescue operations must be covered in full.

A no less important task is that of the maintenance of protective equipment and the practicing of their organized utilization should the "air alarm" signal be given.

The most important task facing the heads of agricultural projects in 1980 will be to master the method for, and organized studies of, the stability of an enterprise to operate in wartime. This calls for the application of a scientific approach, creativity and skill, and to include in annual production plans the basic measures aimed at upgrading work stability under complex circumstances.

Livestock Protection From Toxins

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1980 pp 4-5

[Article by Stoyan Tsonchev]

[Text] Large areas may become contaminated as a result of accidents in industrial enterprises, or in the transportation or storing of toxic substances, as a result of the tearing [destruction] of containers with highly concentrated substances. Such areas may include settlements and livestock farms. Unless prompt and effective measures are taken, the livestock and poultry in these areas may suffer substantial losses. Knowledge of the rules for handling toxic substances and measures for protection from them is a prime duty of the people engaged in modern large-scale animal husbandry and, particularly, of the civil defense formations in charge of protecting the livestock. Also important are measures to be taken by the owners of private livestock plots, for they are a reliable reserve for procuring additional quantities of milk, meat, and wool.

Particularly dangerous industrial toxins which could cause the contamination of large areas are chlorine, ammonia, and sulfur and nitrogen oxides. A basic characteristic in identifying a chlorine contamination is the typical sharp odor and its irritating effect on the respiratory organs and the eyes. The color (brown in the accident area, converting to yellow-green and blueish, as the concentration is reduced) cannot be considered a clearly identifying characteristic of contamination, for the accident may take place at night or in fog, snow precipitation, or other conditions which make observation difficult. Due to the fact that it is heavier than air, the chlorine gas cloud is spread over wide

distances, close to the ground (three to four meters), settling in ravines, cellars, trenches, and others along its way. The upper stories of high buildings and elevations are not affected by the chlorine cloud and are good places for shelter of people and animals. Chlorine spreads slowly in afforested areas and its penetration depth is only one-third that of plain areas where it remains for long periods of time. In moist and rainy weather chlorine fumes are dangerous because of their corrosive effect on the skin of the animals as a result of the formation of hydrochloric and hypochloric acids. The chlorine is strongly absorbed by the moisture (under normal conditions one volume of water dissolves two volumes of chlorine). That is why both water and vegetation (particularly after rain and dew) become dangerous for livestock drinking and as food.

The ammonia which drains out of damaged containers or industrial installations is released as a colorless gas with a sharp choking smell. It is lighter than the air and rises 25 to 30 meters above the ground. It strongly irritates the throat and the eyes and triggers itchiness. In large quantities (20 to 50 tons) the ammonia gas cloud may be carried over distances of four-six or more kilometers. The contamination may be restricted by setting up water curtains at the site of the accident or by spraying from the air, calcium bichloride ($CaCl_2 \cdot NH_3 \rightarrow CaCl_2 \cdot 8\ NH_3$). The cloud movement depends on the direction and velocity of the ground wind and the topography. Buildings and tall forests reduce by about a factor of three the extent of the spreading of ammonia fumes compared with plain areas.

In an accident, sulfur, nitrogen, and hydrogen oxides may create, even though on a smaller scale, a center of chemical contamination and are threatening to the livestock because of their toxic or asphyxiating effect.

In order to protect the livestock from industrial toxic gases, the adoption of fast and effective measures is of great importance. In the majority of cases the protective measures are the same as in protection from poison gases and radioactive dust. The difference is that nuclear weapons and poison gases will be used in wartimes, for which reason such a danger would be expected and the preliminary safety measures will be conducted on a better organized basis, whereas in industrial accidents the danger is sudden. That is why, in peacetime the civil defense staffs should formulate plans for measures for the protection of humans and animals on the basis that large quantities of industrial toxic substances may be stockpiled. Such plans must be made familiar to the proper extent not only to the civil defense formations but the population as well. In the course of the exercises practical problems are resolved on protecting the population and the national economy from industrial poisons.

The protection of the livestock in a critical situation covers the following basic measures: preparing the barns and poultry huts for a quick conversion, if necessary, to a "sealed" system; equipping purebred and highly productive animals with individual protective means; keeping emergency stocks of fodder and water; keeping emergency stocks of means for the veterinary processing of contaminated animals; supplying animal husbandry premises with fire-fighting equipment; determining the nearby safe places to which the animals could be taken providing that the barns cannot be properly sealed; conducting chemical reconnaissance with a view to determining the existence of dangerous concentrations of toxic gases; veterinary processing of livestock affected by poison gases; implementing measures for the decontamination of premises, and for the analysis of the fodder, water, and animal husbandry prodcuts.

The barns and poultry premises must be sealed by tightly and safely sealing all windows and doors and blocking holes. Protection from the penetration of toxic gases is improved by hanging wet blankets or curtains on doors and windows.

The danger caused by a toxic gas cloud may last several hours. For this reason, within that period of time, the barns must be provided with sufficient air for the animals. While the animals are kept in sealed premises, the oxygen of the air must be economically used by reducing to a minimum the moving of the animals and reducing the burning of flames for lighting to extreme cases only.

In barns meeting the requirements of modern industrial raising of cows or calves, in cases of tight sealing, without supplying air from the outside, the composition of the air, depending on the length of the stay, does not change.

The following table shows that in sealed premises the oxygen content is reduced while the quantity of the carbon dioxide and the humidity and temperature of the air rise. The increased humidity of the air hinders the normal sweating while the higher temperature prevents the normal cooling of the body of the animals and overheats the organism. The situation becomes further complicated by the lack of movement of the air in the sealed premises. Special vats, turned on periodically, may be installed to circulate the air in the premises.

The humidity of the air may be reduced by placing in the barns cases with moisture absorbing substances such as live lime, calcium bichloride, and others.

It has been established that in cases of total sealing of a premise, with 14 to 16 cubic meters of air per cow, the animal may suffer no damage for a period of eight to nine hours; in a premise containing six cubic meters of air a hog may remain unharmed for up to seven hours; with three cubic meters of air a sheep may remain unharmed for 12 hours.

With a lesser amount of air the pulsebeat of the animals rises. There are breathing difficulties, sweating, and higher temperature. These phenomena disappear after taking the animals out or opening windows and doors.

Duration of Animal Stay in Sealed Premises	Air temperature degrees centigrade	Relative humidity	Content in volume percentages	
			CO_2	O_2
Prior to sealing the premises	15.3	81.1	0.32	20.35
Three hours after sealing the premises	17.8	95.0	2.46	18.21
Six hours after sealing the premises	18.5	95.9	3.65	15.57
Nine hours after sealing the premises	19.6	96.5	6.94	13.74

Should it be impossible to seal the barns after the "chemical warning" signal has been issued, the animals must be taken to nearby high and windy areas where they must stay until the danger is over. Thus, for example, in an accident involving chlorine at the K. Marks Chemical Plant, in Devnya, in 1974, the cow and calf hampers at the Padina farm quickly took all animals to the nearby fields and thus avoided the danger created by the poisonous cloud.

Should the animals be grazing in the field when the "chemical warning" signal is given, the best means for proteoction is to take the animals outside the area of the presumed contamination, moving at a 90-degree angle of the direction of the wind.

Special filter gas masks are a reliable means for the protection of the animals' respiratory organs. Should such gas masks be unavailable, wettened feed bags, closely tied around the heads of the animals must be used. Meanwhile, the possibility must be sought for taking the animals to the closest possible sealed premise or for taking them out of the contaminated area in the shortest possible way.

Animals which have been kept in an atmosphere contaminated with industrial poisons must be subjected to veterinary processing once the danger is past, by abundant washing with water and subsequent drying. The eyes and mucous areas of the nose must be rinsed with a 2-percent water solution of sodium bicarbonate.

After the toxic cloud has passed and the concentration of the fumes has been reduced below the maximum permissible norm, no degasification is required of barns, poultry houses, and the area around them. The premises must be aired with a strong current of air by opening doors and windows.

The fodder and water must be supervised and, should the existence of toxic substances in them be suspected, their use should be banned. Grass fodder may be used by eliminating the upper layer 15 to 20 centimeters thick. Grain feeds are degasified by spreading over a wide area and adequately aired. The contaminated water must be thrown out or degasified through natural draining.

Pasture grounds on which a poisonous cloud has passed are a serious menace to the livestock. In these areas the toxic fumes remain longer and the vegetation absorbs the poison through the moisture of the leaves and stems, and becomes dangerous to the animals. Thus, for example, in the chlorine accident at the Petrochemical Combine near Burgas, in 1973, meadows located 25-20 kilometers from the combine, over which the toxic cloud had passed, remained unusable for a long period of time. The people who tried to mow those meadows developed rashes while animals which grazed them developed ulcers in their nostrils and mouths. It became necessary to mandatorily forbid the use of the contaminated areas. Some 7 to 10 days later, as a result of natural self-degasification, the area became safe.

These examples indicate that contaminations with industrial poisonous substances in accidents are a threat both to people and animals, particularly in big livestock farms. The reduced number of people, as a result of the mechanization of the livestock farms, will make the implementation of protective measures harder. That is why it would be expedient for animal husbandry farms to be built at a distance from gas-dangerous projects and, if possible, to be located on their windward side.

Knowledge of the dangers created by industrial poisons and of the means for protection against them could prevent or considerably reduce damages and losses in cases of industrial accidents.

Animal Rescue Measures

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1980 pp 6-7

[Article by Dr Stefan Stefanov, assistant chief of staff for livestock and plant protection of the Sofia Okrug GO staff]

[Text] Rescue operations in animal husbandry are organized by GO chiefs, specialists, and commanders of formations in charge of livestock

protection in agricultural enterprises. Their purpose is to rescue the stricken animals and render first and hospital-veterinary medical aid or the forced slaughtering of the animals; localize and put out fires in barns and warehouses; restore communal-power grids and installations related to the functioning of the barns and their machines; and decontamination of the territory of the farmyards, animal husbandry premises, warehouses, installations, equipment, inventory, property, fodder, and water.

Rescue operations must be organized simultaneously on the entire territory of the damaged (contaminated) area and cover both animals from the public sector and from the private plots of the cooperative farmers. Priority in the entire setup operations is given to those directly insuring the safety or the rescue of the animals.

On the territory of the obshtina people's council (settlement system) such operations are carried out by the nonmilitarized civil defense formations, organized in peacetime, and by the ablebodied local and evacuated population. Specific operations in this respect are organized and carried out by the forces and facilities of the APK (the GO managements in APK, animal husbandry specialists, teams and sections in charge of livestock protection, and teams for the protection of plants and the agricultural equipment). General measures are carried out through the forces and facilities of obshtina and enterprise staffs, services, and formations organized on the territory of the APK.

The organization of rescue operations in the APK or, more specifically, in its animal husbandry area, include the following basic activities: decision making and assigning tasks to subordinate formations on the protection of the livestock, organizing interaction, control, and backup, providing control and helping subordinates in the prompt and qualitative implementation of assignments.

The decision to engage in rescue operations must be made personally by the chiefs of the GO and the APK, assisted by the GO staff, and by nonstaff specialists and complex employees, on the basis of a detailed clarification of the assignment and a proper evaluation of the circumstances. This decision must be immediately executed by the GO management and, subsequently, must be issued as a combat order. The deputies and assistants of the GO chief assign the tasks to commanders and formations under their control and supervise their implementation.

In order to insure successful rescue operations, the APK GO command organizes the steady interaction among formations in charge of livestock protection, and between them and the subunits of the remaining services ("Order and Security," "Trade," "Sanitary Processing and Decontamination," and others), operating on obshtina territory. The purpose of the interaction is to carry out skillful activities, coordinated in terms of objective, time, and place of action.

The organization of management is the basic activity of the GO commander of the APK and the staff. It consists of systematically obtaining data on the situation in the component farms, production sectors, and branches, assessing the circumstances, making new decisions, and promptly passing them on to the performers.

The comprehensive material and technical support of rescue operations is organized on the basis of the decision made and the instructions issued by the superior GO staff. Its purpose is to create the necessary conditions for successful work. Along with basic support facilities (antiradiation, antichemical, medical, antifire, and engineering support), particularly important in animal husbandry is veterinary support which includes veterinary-medical, veterinary-sanitary, veterinary-hygenic, antiepizootic, and supply measures carried out in varying extents and ratios according to the type and scale of the stricken (contaminated) area and the level of concentration of animal husbandry in the affected region.

In the center of a nuclear strike rescue operations include putting out fires in APK farmyards, rescuing of livestock in burning and destroyed premises and taking them to safe places, giving first veterinary aid to or slaughtering the stricken animals, rescuing feeds, and restoring water supply mechanisms. Measures must also be taken to restore power systems and to supply livestock farms, poultry combines, or animal husbandry complexes with electric power. The work in warehouses and other fodder storage areas is reduced to insuring safe work in damaged premises and eliminating the polluted (contaminated) fodder.

In rescuing animals from destroyed and burning premises, we must first remove the danger of their being buried by crumbling structures, by setting up temporary props. Animals buried under such structures must be taken out after the safe animals or those stricken yet capable of moving by themselves have been removed.

In the trace of the radioactive cloud, rescue operations in animal husbandry are conducted after defining the contamination area in which animal husbandry farms or complexes are located, and the reliability of protective systems.

Animals placed in properly sealed premises will be reliably protected from radioactive contamination. They must be kept in such premises until the radiation level outside the premise has dropped to 0.5 r/h.

Animals in the open or in nonsealed premises are not protected from radioactive contamination and are exposed to various levels of radiation disease depending on the area and the duration of their stay in it. In such cases rescue operations involve the rapid driving out of the animals at the edge of such areas away from the direction of the radioactive cloud and giving veterinary aid or slaughtering stricken animals,

according to the level of their contamination. All animals which have been contaminated and must be slaughtered must be submitted to veterinary processing and unprotected fodder and water must be deactivated.

In a chemical contamination center, after determining and marking the boundaries of the contaminated territory and the type of toxic substance used the formations in charge of livestock protection undertake to carry out a number of measures aimed at stopping the penetration or effect of the toxic substances on the body of the affected animals. Rescue operations include opening passages to livestock premises, use of antedoors leading the animals outside the contaminated area, their veterinary processing, degasification of the territory of the farmyard premises, tools, and so on. Individual protective means (gas bags, blankets, and others) must be put, first of all, on the particularly valuable purebred livestock after which the standard treatment of the livestock is followed according to the type of toxic substance used. After work in a chemical contamination area, the personnel must be subjected to sanitary processing as well.

Measures for the elimination of a biological (bacteriological epizootic) contamination area depend, above all, on the type of the agent and the means of its application and take place in two stages.

The first stage covers the time until the type of agent has been determined. General antiepizootic measures are carried out. A quarantine is proclaimed (external for the individual settlements, and internal). The dimensions of the contaminated area are determined, samples are taken, and sent to the closest laboratory to identify the agent. Animals are put in the barn and placed under constant veterinary observation aimed at detecting, isolating, and symptomatically treating the sick; the application of extreme prophylactic measures to all animals which are assumed to be affected, using antibiotic mixtures, tissue and other nonspecific preparations; measures are taken to decontaminate farmyards, buildings, and fodder, and to prevent the contamination of the animals through food and water (disinfection, disinsection, and deratization). Should the skin be contaminated, the animals are subjected to veterinary processing and strict veterinary control is exercised over the meat of such animals. A sanitary filter is installed in farmyards along with a clothing decontamination unit. Veterinary instruction is given to animal husbandrymen and the remaining population.

The second stage begins after the type of agent has been identified and lasts until the disease has been totally eliminated. The quarantine is either extended or replaced by observation (intensified veterinary observation) whenever the infectious disease is not transmitted from sick to healthy animals. In some cases a danger zone is established around the quarantined territory in which veterinary observation and

strict veterinary-sanitary control of livestock projects and meat production and processing enterprises is provided. During that stage specific prophylactic and therapeutic methods are used along with all other ways and means of struggle in accordance with current instructions and instructions relating to the corresponding disease. In cases of diseases transmitted from animals to humans (zoonoses), the animal protection formations must work in total coordination with the medical services.

The GO chiefs of obshtinas and APK are responsible for the observance of quarantine rules and for the implementation of measures for the rapid elimination of contagious diseases in animals.

The basic measure implemented in all types of stricken (contaminated) areas within an animal husbandry region, is veterinary processing. It consists of removing the poisonous and radioactive substances and the contaminated material from the bodies of the livestock. This is done by the personnel of the livestock protection formations on specially built and equipped areas. The facilities used in veterinary processing depend on the nature of the contaminating material. Should animals be contaminated with radioactive substances, surface-active and complex-forming means are essentially used. In contamination with chemical poisons use is made of substances with hydrolytic oxidating and chlorinating action; biological means are removed through disinfection and disinsection substances and solvents.

Before undertaking the veterinary processing, the specialized personnel of the formations divide the animals into basic groups and subgroups according to the nature and level of the damage, and gives differentiated veterinary aid, directing the subgroups to the proper sectors of the area for veterinary processing, and issue instructions on the means and degree of processing of the corresponding animal subgroup.

The effectiveness and the quality of the veterinary processing of stricken animals depends on the specialized training of the personnel, the prompt and full conduct of the work, the availability of technical, deactivation, degasification, disinfection, disinsection, and other special facilities, and the rational utilization of available veterinary and agricultural equipment. The animals are checked at specially organized areas for veterinary aid and docimetric control, located close to the entrance to the clean part of the area. It is here that the veterinary-evacuation grading of the animals takes place after their processing for their further raising in decontaminated premises, for slaughter, if necessary, by meat combines and field slaughtering centers, or inpatient treatment in permanent or temporary veterinary treatment centers.

Following the completion of the rescue operations in animal husbandry, regardless of the type of damage (contamination) center, the livestock protection formations, assisted by the other forces and facilities of

the GO on APK territory, carry out an overall veterinary cleanup operation of farmyards. The bodies or remains of the dead animals are buried or taken to the incinerator for further processing.

In rescue operations at night, the GO command of the APK organizes the lighting of farmyards, livestock farms, and animal husbandry complexes and controls traffic on the work territory. Should rescue operations take place in winter, the road must be cleared and the personnel of the operating formations must be checked for proper clothing. Areas for warming up during rest periods must be marked. In all cases, safety measures must be strictly observed in rescue operations.

Ecological Aspects of Chemical Pollution

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1980 pp 8-10

[Article by Docent Candidate of Agricultural Sciences Georgi Sengalevich, V. Kolarov Higher Agricultural Institute in Plovdiv]

[Text] The protection of the environment is an exceptionally important problem in our time. The chemical pollution of agricultural areas, caused by industry and residential areas, and the accelerated chemigation of agriculture are increasing. Furthermore, we must not forget that only 30 percent of the earth's surface is suitable for farming.

Some 55,000 chemical substances have been discovered in the environment, circulating from one biospheric unit to another. Many such substances are directly or indirectly harmful to plants, animals, and humans. Thus, for example, from coal burning alone about 3,000 tons of mercury go into the atmosphere. Adding to this pollution caused by chemical enterprises the figure rises to 10,000 tons of mercury. It has been established that in 1970 alone 170 million tons of various substances entered the U.S. environment. Such data eloquently prove that a process of global, large-scale environmental pollution with chemical agents has occurred, affecting above all agricultural areas which are the basic source of food for the present and future population on earth.

These circumstances made it necessary for a number of countries to engage in a sober assessment of the situation and of the condition of the problem in the next few years, and to undertake energetic counteraction measures. The agreement reached on such problems between the USSR and the United States reflects the basic directions of joint work in the field of environmental protection. It deals with basic problems related to the prevention of atmospheric, water, and soil pollution through the development of more advanced waste-free industrial production technology. Particular attention is paid to the production of environmentally nonpolluting chemical fertilizers and pesticides.

Our country as well is subjected to extensive and dangerous pollution of agricultural areas from heavy metals, metalloids and harmful industrial gases. Such pollution is originated two ways: through irrigation water containing heavy metals from flotation enterprises and chemical plants, and the release in the atmosphere of large quantities of inert materials, toxic gases, and other pollutants. Usually, water pollution is caused by microscopic quantities of copper, zinc, lead, iron, and others. Until recently, it was claimed that the irrigation of farm crops with such water is not dangerous, that they show great endurance and adapt to the pollutants. Practical experience proved, and scientific research confirmed, that in a heavy metal concentration of 40-50 milligrams per liter in irrigation water, farm crops irrigated once (LD_{100}) are totally destroyed. Usually, the destruction of the plants is preceded by blocking the growth, peripheral necrosis of the leaves, deformation of the fruit (degeneracy), changes in coloring and the destruction of the root system (the destruction period occurs 8 to 10 days later). Such destruction symptoms of crops should be well identified by the specialized GO formations of the National agroindustrial Union and by the plant protection crews.

In cases of accidental releases of waters polluted with heavy metals, considerable areas planted mainly in vegetable crops may be affected. Should the irrigation water contain lower concentrations of heavy metals the plants do not perish. However, the concentrations accumulate, through the vertical water flow, into the vegetal production (the fruit). Hence the danger to humans. There is also a pollution of the upper soil stratum which, depending on the concentration may lead to the partial or total sterility of the polluted soil.

Pollution with heavy metals, metalloids, and other harmful substances affecting cultivated areas in the regions adjoining lead-zinc and chemical plants, thermoelectric plants using solid fuel, metallurgical combines, and others, is even more treacherous. If no special electric filters have been installed, hundreds of tons of inert materials and gaseous poisons are released into the atmosphere every day, polluting large areas in various farm crops. However, the problem of soil pollution (the upper stratum at a depth of up to 30 centimeters) with lead, zinc, copper, manganese, cadmium, arsenic, mercury, and others, coming from the polluted air, is the first and the most serious. It is justifiably said that this type of pollution is similar to radioactive pollution following a nuclear explosion, on a microscale. It affects, directly or indirectly, warm-blodded organisms. Figure 1 shows a diagram of atmosphereic pollution with heavy metals in agricultural areas. We see that in pollution through the air from a polluting source (in this case the plant's smokestack), two zones of different saturation of the soil with heavy metals appear. Research in our country has indicated that a maximum saturation zone develops in the immediate vicinity of the source, containing a pollution of 400-450 milligrams of heavy metals per one kilogram soil. It is true that this area is small.

However, under the conditions prevailing in our country such pollution is of the nature of an accident (admissible norms are 25 milligrams per kilogram soil for arsenic, and 70-80 milligrams per kilogram soil for lead with a pH of 6-7). Since such pollution is mixed (involving manganese and cadmium) the level of the measure of intoxication is increased severalfold.

The second zone in which pollution gradually declines with the distance from the polluting source in the windward side has a scattered pattern of heavy metal deposits (alternating areas with higher or lower pollution levels, in different patterns and sequences). A characteristic feature of this type of pollution is noted in agricultural areas in the case of two sources located in the immediate vicinity of each other (Fig. 2).

The zone where the pollutants are deposited is located at varying distances from the pollution sources, depending on their height, radiation intensiveness, the topography, and the velocity of predominating winds.

Harmful gases released in the course of the production process of a number of chemical plants, thermoelectric power plants, nonferrous and ferrous metal combines, and others, cause severe damage to the normal development of farm crops and, frequently, their harvesting. The areas affected by them most frequently cover those in farm crops. We are faced with typical chemical contamination areas in which plants are destroyed and a real threat is created for animals and humans inhabiting the area.

In our country cases of accidental release of toxic substances in the atmosphere have become more frequent. This applies mainly to sulfur oxides (sulfur dioxide and trioxide), ammonium, chlorine, carbon monoxide, and others. The boiling point of such poison gases is no more than 20 degrees centigrade. Falling on the environment, they rapidly evaporate and their vapors flow in the direction of the dominating winds, for which reason dangerous concentrations may develop at large distances from the primary contamination source.

Farm crops are very sensitive to the intoxication by the fumes of such toxic gases. Thus, when an area of chemical contamination with sulfur oxides develops, the most sensitive are vineyards, peaches, tomatoes, and tobacco. The stricken plants are identified by their extensive peripheral necrosis of the leaves, sectional necrosis of the fruit, and destruction of the vegetation tip.

The safest indicator of damage caused by sulfur oxides is the rapidly developing corrosion of all metal parts (agricultural equipment, cropping structures, and others). Ammonium strikes essentially at the leaves located in the upper areas of the plants. The rapidly developing necrosis looks like leaves burned by high temperatures. The damage, however, is not fatal to the crops.

The most severe situations occur in chlorine contamination. Depending on the abiotic factors of the environment and the vertical stability of the atmosphere, chlorine may develop a second contamination center covering a broad agricultural area (several APK or neighboring okrugs). Usually, in the aftermath of the passage of the cloud, the plants rapidly whiten (chlorine totally destroys the existing green pigments--chlorophyll A and B--and the carotinoids, and blocks their biosynthesis). Crops sensitive to chlorine such as sugar beets, tobacco, cotton, and others, perish spontaneously. Chlorine causes severe damage to pit fruits. Only in grain crops may a restoration be noted 10 to 12 days later, and they could be harvested.

Frequently, substantial quantities of arsenic oxide (A_2O_3) are released in the processing of some ores in copper extraction plants. Such pollution is exceptionally dangerous to farm animals. Usually, through the atmosphere the arsenic enters the plants, the meadow vegetation in particular. When the cattle graze, following the biological chain the arsenic enters their body and causes mass poisonings which, most frequently have a lethal outcome.

Modern agriculture is inconceivable without the steady increase in the level of its chemization. The fertilizing of farm crops and the struggle against diseases, pests, and weeds, are prime factors playing a dominating role in upgrading agricultural production effectiveness. Every year, over four million tons of pesticides are used throughout the world for plant protection purposes. Over 300 million tons of chemical fertilizers are spread on cultivated land. In terms of scale this exceeds the use of chemical agents (poison gases and lethal doses of poison gases) used for military purposes. Let us not forget that the erroneous or unscientific utilization of chemical fertilizers, nitrogen fertilizers above all, may yield extremely undesirable consequences mainly to the health of the end components of the biological chain--humans and animals. An example of this is excessive nitrogen fertilizing which is regularly practiced in some areas. In higher doses the nitrogen remaining in the soil partially evaporates in the air under the form of ammonia while another part converts into free nitrates. They are undesirable for pollutants of the soil, characterized by their biological aggressiveness. Penetrating into the human or animal body, directly or indirectly, they cause nitrosamine intoxications (in concentration of free nitrates of 40-45 mg per liter of water the outcome for young calves is most frequently lethal). It has been established that, under the effects of microbiological activities in the stomach, the free nitrate is reduced to nitrites which, in turn, block the hemoglobin and convert it into metahemoglobin (similar to poisoning with carbon monoxide). Negative consequences may result also from erroneous dosing of phosphorus and potassium fertilizers and in the application of microfertilizers.

The most dangerous consequences are those resulting from environmental pollution with pesticides. It is no empty tall that a "small chemical war" is waged when crops are sprayed from the air. The reason is that a large territory is affected and technological violations result in a

secondary pollution in the direction of the predominating winds. Frequently such pollution may spread 10 to 15 kilometers away from the place of treatment. Some pesticides have lethal doses and their effect is similar to that of poison gases. The use of pesticides for plant protection purposes is particularly dangerous when the organization is poor and the skill of the workers is low. Most frequently this leads to strong phytotoxicity and the loss of crops, and the poisoning of farm animals, bees, fish, game, and humans. This is an accident which requires maximum efforts to eliminate.

As we may see, the problem is complex not only in its ecological but pratical-operative aspects. That is why the participation of specialized GO formations and individual crews in charge of animal and plant protection in cases of accidents is mandatory. This is stipulated in the "Regulation on the Organization and Management of SNAVR in Natural Disasters and Major Industrial Accidents," approved by the Bulgarian People's Republic Council of Ministers in 1977.

In a number of cases environmental pollution assumes such dimensions as to rate as an accident. In such cases it is natural for the permanent commissions of the Council of Ministers, departments, okrugs, obshtinas, and national economic sites to take measures for the elimination of their consequences. In this respect they could closely cooperate with the organs of the Committee for Environmental Protection of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Greater attention should be paid to specialized information and more profound studies should be made of the reasons for local or global environmental pollution with chemical agents. Forecasts, preventive measures, and measures for radically restricting the pollution in agricultural areas is the concern of all specialists within the system of the Republic Service for the Protection of Animals and Plants of the National Agroindustrial Union. Their active and continuing influence in peacetime will protect us from surprises, particularly under the conditions of the accelerated pace of chemization of the national economy. At the same time, it will have its beneficial influence should the enemy succeed in imposing a war upon us.

Radioactive Contamination

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1980 pp 10-14

[Article by Iliya Georgiev, senior instructor at the K. Marks Higher Economics Institute, and Vasil Aleksandrov, senior assistant]

[Text] Radioactive contamination is one of the main striking factors of a nuclear weapon used against agriculture. This is based on the tremendous areas on which it appears, the duration of its effectiveness, and the impossibility to detect it without special equipment.

Food products of vegetal origin, contaminated with radioactive substances, may become sources of internal radiation which, in a critical

situation, is very dangerous to humans. This circumstance determines the responsible task facing managers and specialists in agroindustrial complexes, branch farms, and respective services, in organizing the protection of agriculture.

Radioactive substances deposited on various types of food products and feeds do not contaminate their surfaces only but may penetrate at a considerable depth. Thus, for example, they penetrate into the grain, in the open, at a depth of up to three centimeters; they penetrate flour for up to 0.5 centimeters, and bran up to one centimeter; they penetrate stacks of hay and straw at a depth of 10 to 20 centimeters or, if baled, at a depth of three to seven centimeters.

The protection of food and fodder at the farms is achieved through the adoption of a set of measures aimed at their preservation from radioactive contamination. This covers problems such as scattering food stocks among areas believed not to be targets of nuclear attacks; use of various shelters or available basic storage facilities (silos, warehouses, fruit storage bins, refrigerated areas, and shops); wrapping the goods in special protective materials, and so on. In all cases, however, measures for the protection of the finished products from eventual fires must be implemented as well.

The protection of prime necessity goods--flour, wheat, bread, meat, butter, and some dairy goods--assumes the most important position in the plan which is drafted in advance for the protection of food products and fodders on farm territory. Great attention is also paid to products which may be used without heat processing.

The sealing of warehouses and livestock premises becomes particularly important. The properly sealed premises drastically reduce the penetration of radioactive particles. In unsealed premises this penetration is reduced from a factor of 20 to 65; in sealed premises it is reduced by a factor of 100-300. In sealing warehouses and premises, most of the windows must be blocked with bricks and plastered with mortar, while the others are covered tightly with polyethylene, hay, or straw. Doors are sealed with rubberized material, polyethylene, or any other thick fabric.

Finished products are preserved best from radioactive contamination if promptly placed in silos, warehouses, or specially equipped shelters. Goods which cannot be protected and are left on the open sites (thrashing floors), must be mandatorily covered with tarpaulin, polyethylene, or a layer of hay or straw 20 to 25 centimeters thick. Stacks of hay and straw must be covered with reeds or other vegetal material which will not be used as animal food.

The extent of contamination must be determined before undertaking the deactivation of food products and fodders. A rough assessment of contamination is based on the measured power of the dose triggered by the contamination of the environment. The measurement is conducted with the help of a radiometer-roentgenometer (RR-51M) or any other similar docimetric instrument used by specially trained individuals who are members of the plant protection crews.

It is possible to remove the radioactive particles from the contaminated products through physical (mechanical), chemical, or complex physical-chemical methods. In the physical method, radioactive substances are removed mechanically. With the chemical method, some of them are dissolved while others form complex compounds which are subsequently removed. In the physical-chemical method deactivating solutions are used, containing surface-active combining substances.

Water, which has a number of good washing properties, is most frequently used for deactivation. However, the special solutions containing substances which contribute to the better removal of radioactive particles from contaminated objects may also be used to insure rapid and effective deactivation of premises, warehouses, and products. They are known as deactivating substances. They may be surface-active (washing) or compound forming (acids, alkalis, sorbents, ion-exchange materials, and others).

The surface-active substances in water solutions, even in very low concentrations (0.1-0.5 percent) substantially reduce the surface stress of the water, thus raising the effectiveness of the washing process. Surface-active substances remain on the surface of the radioactive particles, forming a stable film around them which, subsequently, swells and weakens the intermolecular ties between the particles and the absorbing surface. Then, together with the deactivator, the particles are separated from the surface of the objects and go into the solution.

Depending on their chemical composition and structure, the surface-active substances may be ionogenic or non-ionogenic. The non-ionogenic include OP-7 and OP-10; the ionogenic include calcium liquid and sodium hard soaps, the preparations Novost and Sulfanol, and others.

In the case of contamination with radioactive substances, some of them are retained on the surface of the objects through molecular absorption and ion exchange. In such circumstances the surface-active substances are not always able to remove the firmly adhering particles. The compound-forming substances, which make it possible to achieve a considerably more thorough deactivation, are more suitable for the purpose. Such substances form complex compounds with a number of metals. They are water-soluble, thus insuring the removal of the radioactive particles from the contaminated surfaces by passing entirely into the deactivating solution.

The compound-forming substances include sodium hexametaphosphate, sodium tripolyphosphate, Trilon B, and tartaric, acetic and citric acids, and their salts.

A large number of prescriptions for making deactivating solutions are available [illegible] easiest, however, are the following: summer deacti[illegible]ng

solution (LD) which contains 0.3 percent OP-7 or OP-10 and 0.7 percent sodium hexametaphosphate; summer acid deactivating solution (LKD), which contains 0.3 percent OP-7 or OP-10, 0.7 percent sodium hexametaphosphate, 0.25 percent hydrochloric acid, and 0.1 percent inhibitor korosin, PB-5 (polymerbutylamine), and is used in doses of 3-5 liters per square meter. The winter acid deactivating solutin (ZKD) is composed of the same substance as the winter acid deactivating solution without sodium hexametaphosphate. Its freezing point may be lowered by adding potassium or magnesium chloride.

Such solutions may be used depending on the characteristics of the objects and products to be deactivated.

Farm goods which have not been protected from radioactive contamination for one or another reason must be subjected to additional processing. First to be processed are the most valuable and necessary foods and easily deactivated products. Great quantities of nonspoilable food may be kept in warehouses for a longer period of time for natural deactivation.

Deactivation by washing with water grain and grain-leguminous crops is relatively difficult because of the large quantities. However, should it become necessary, it could be carried out in small batches, after which the grain must be dried. If such products are left in the open, we begin by measuring the level of contamination, after which the upper four to five centimeter thick stratum is removed, since its contamination is the highest. Following this, should the level of contamination fail to drop to the admissible norms, the grain must be washed and subjected to technological treatment.

Highly contaminated products and fodder must not be destroyed. They may be deactivated or stored over longer periods of time for the natural breakdown of the radioisotopes or else subjected to technological treatment. In the case of grain and grain-leguminous products, a high percentage of the radioisotopes are removed by peeling off the external shells and covers. A very good method for reducing the content of Strontium-90 in the grain is to process it into high-quality flour. Thus, for example, if we consider the level of contamination as reaching the 100 percent level, the percentage of the content of Strontium-90 will have the following breakdown: in flour, 11 percent; in fine bran, 10 percent; in large bran, 79 percent. A far higher percentage of radioisotopes may be removed by the shelling of oats, barley, beans, peas, and other products.

As the result of the processing of sugar beets into sugar, the bulk of the radioisotopes remain in the molasses, while the sugar is virtually free from radioisotopes. Radioactive substances are eliminated in the processing of sunflower seeds into oil.

Goods placed in bags, cases, or barrels are deactivated as follows: We first wash the container several times, until the radioactive particles have been entirely removed, after which the products they contain are transferred into clean containers. Flour bags must be moistened on the outside with water and, after drying, the flour must be poured into clean containers. The upper stratum (a dough of contaminated flour) may be used for feeding hogs or destroyed in specially equipped areas.

Fodder is either deactivated or left for self-deactivation, depending on the quantity, type of shelter, and nature and level of contamination. In fodders deactivation consists of separating the contaminated from the noncontaminated stratum. In grain feeds four to six centimeters of the upper contaminated stratum are removed; in coarse fodder the removed layer must be 10 to 20 centimeters deep. Depending on the amount of the eliminated part of the fodder, the latter is deactivised or left for natural deactivation. Should the level of contamination fail to drop the fodder must be put in pits where it is burned and covered with a thick layer of dirt.

In some cases, the contaminated fodder and the root and tuber-root crops may be deactivated by washing with water or suitable deactivating substances and solvents. When washed they are placed on sieves or specially prepared wooden mats under which pits have been dug for the draining and collection of the contaminated water.

Covered stacks of baled hay or straw are cleaned from radioactive substances by removing the outside cover. Should the level of radioactivity fail to drop after that, one row of bales must be removed. Well covered and protected feeds will not show high-level contamination caused by external mechanical factors.

Special machines and instruments and available agricultural equipment may be used in organizing and carrying out deactivation. All activities related to the decontamination of food products and fodders must be done by the crews and sections in charge of plant and animal protection. Whenever possible, the entire available population must be included in the work.

In order to insure the protection of humans and animals in contaminated areas, the territory in which they are located and the buildings, installations, transport facilities, water sources, and other objects with which they may be in contact must be deactivated.

Knowledge of radioactive contamination and of means for the deactivation of food products is of practical significance in both major industrial accidents and in wartime. This enables us to determine the most effective measures which will enable us to supply the population with decontaminated food products and lower the damage caused by radioactive contamination.

All this may be achieved providing that, in times of peace, the managers and specialists in agriculture draft properly thought out plans for civil defense and devote systematic concern for the training of staffs, services, and formations. This is also mandated by Ukase No 265 of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Rebpulic on Civil Defense, requiring the heads of agricultural enterprises to plan and implement defense measures for the protection of the population and the national economy from mass destruction weapons or other enemy means of attack, starting with peacetime.

Slaughtering of Stricken Animals

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1980 pp 10-14

[Article by Dr Radoy Iliev, chief specialist in animal protection of the GO staff of the Bulgarian People's Republic]

[Text] The purpose of civil defense in agricultural areas is to insure the protection of animals and plants from mass destruction weapons. The civil defense managements in APK, PAK, and branch farms must draft plans for the protection of animals, plants, and their products, and train staffs, formations, and the entire personnel in their implementation. One of the tasks is to avoid the contamination of the animals. However, since this is virtually impossible, their protection must be organized with a view to reducing the losses. In critical situations this will enable us to insure the availability of food products.

Conditions in agriculture are such that it would be very difficult to avoid contamination, particularly when it becomes necessary to organize the protection of animals raised in the open. However, even when animals are raised in barns, in an enemy attack using mass destruction weapons, depending on a number of circumstances, the animals will be exposed to higher or lesser damage. Under such circumstances, the civil defense command, staff, and formations in agricultural enterprises will face the need not only to carry out measures for protection and for eliminating the center of contamination, but to slaughter the stricken animals, and use their meat.

In possibly higher damages caused the animals following an attack with mass destruction weapons, the prompt veterinary grading of the animals and the making of fast decisions as to their treatment or slaughter, with a view to using their meat, are of essential significance. The question of slaughtering the animals is resolved after assessing the outcome of the disease, the duration of the treatment and its profitability, and the possibility for slaughtering a large number of animals and for preserving, transporting, and canning the meat. In the course of such activities measures must be taken for the protection of the people, particularly in contaminations which are transmitted from

animals to humans. The task of the animal and plant protection services, under such circumstances, is to reduce losses by promptly suggesting the slaughtering of the animals and using the meat to feed the population.

Animals subjected to the effect of mass destruction weapons, to be slaughtered for meat, must be examined carefully and, according to the type of damage, subjected to docimetric control, clinical examination with temperature-taking, and total veterinary processing. This pre-slaughter examination and veterinary-sanitary expert evaluation of the animals to be slaughtered, are organized in accordance with existing regulations for expert examinations, taking into consideration the characteristics of each different type of damage.

In all cases, it is expedient for the stricken animals to be slaughtered in the latent period, before the clinical symptoms of the radiation disease have appeared. Should such symptoms appear, the animals must be treated to full recovery, after which slaughtering may be permitted.

In severe damages and the existence of clinical symptoms of acute radiation disease third degree, accompanied by complications and high-level mortality, treatment becomes economically unprofitable. Such animals may be used for industrial purposes.

When prognosticating the outcome of the treatment of the damaged animals and determining the time for the slaughtering, we must take into consideration the high reaction of young animals to radiation and the amount of the dose (the higher the dose the more severe is the course of the radiation disease). In this respect the examination of leucocytes of the peripheral blood circulation vessels may provide considerable help. The reduced function of the blood-making organs is a basic indicator of the extent of the damage. For example, 24 hours after the beginning of the latent period, in a light degree of external damage, leucocytes drop by 40 percent, the average being 50 percent; in a severe case, they drop 70 percent.

Productive cattle radiated with a dose of 750 r must be slaughtered, after the selection, in the first two to three days; those radiated with a dose of 550 r must be slaughtered no later than seven days afterwards; those radiated with 350 r should not be slaughtered, for most of them recover.

The following procedure must be observed in slaughtering animals radiated with a dose in excess of 550 r: first to be slaughtered are those which have been contaminated internally and externally; this is followed by those who have remained for a longer period of time in the contaminated area; finally, all the others. The radiometric examination of the muscles and bones of the slaughtered animal will enable us to determine the level of radioactive contamination. This will be a base

for setting suitable deadlines for the slaughtering of the remaining livestock of a given group.

Animals which have been internally contaminated by the products of a nuclear explosion should be slaughtered between the 6th and 12th day after leaving the contaminated area. Within that time the radioactive level declines considerably as a result of the natural breakdown of the isotopes and the separation of the radioactive substances from the body.

Animals which have been heavily damaged or suffer from deep and extensive burns must be slaughtered in the first three days following the strike. Should they be slaughtered later, due to the lowered resistance of the body, conditions arise for penetration into the stricken tissues and organs of microflora from the skin, the gastrointestinal tract, and the respiratory ways, and possibilities for generalized sepis arise.

In compound damages the deadline for the slaughtering of the animals is based on the predominating type of damage which has caused the most severe pathological changes affecting the condition of the animal.

In all cases of slaughtering livestock stricken by nuclear weapons, it is mandatory to observe safety measures by individuals engaged in such activities. Workers engaged in the processing of products from animals contaminated with radioactive substances must wear special clothing (waterproof gloves, aprons, rubber boots), and use individual control means.

The sanitary-hygiene rating of the meat and of its possibility to be used as food may be allowed in all cases only after precise radiometric analysis conducted by veterinary laboratories.

Should the level of radioactive contamination exceed the admissible level, the meat must be stored separately until it has reached the admissible dose, or else subjected to technological treatment. In the case of meat contaminated after the slaughter, the substances are on the surface only and such meat must be washed or a surface layer up to five millimeters in depth must be removed. The conclusion concerning its suitability for use is issued after the radiometric examination.

The question of the profitability of the treatment and the further utilization of animals stricken by poison gases is resolved by taking into consideration the type of poison, the area of the damaged skin, the degree of damage caused respiratory and digestive organs, meteorological conditions, duration of the stay of the animal in the poisoned atmosphere or contaminated sector, the general condition, and the type of animal and its individual characteristics. For example, should long-haired animals be contaminated with toxic substances, clinical symptoms appear later compared with short-haired animals; the effect of toxic

substances resulting from the penetration of poisonous substances through the digestive organs is slower in ruminants compared with horses.

The selection and determination of what animals stricken by poisonous substances are to be slaughtered are carried out by the animal protection organs at specially designated areas where the animals are taken from the contaminated area and subjected to veterinary processing. In the case of few animals all of them must be slaughtered in the first two hours following the strike, regardless of the type of the toxic substance, the nature and severity of the damage (with the exception of animals severely stricken by Lewisite). In the case of a large number of stricken animals, the sequence of the slaughtering is based on clinical symptoms. In such cases, first to be slaughtered are animals stricken with phosphororganic toxic substances to a severe extent, or stricken by mustard gas showing clear symptoms of nervousness, higher rate of breathing, disturbed cardial activities, and swelling of the damaged skin. This is followed by slaughtering of animals stricken by phosphororganic substances, with medium severity, and animals whose respiratory organs have been affected by the fumes of mustard gas or asphyxiating toxic substances, showing a swelling of the lungs, and excretions from the nostrils, with higher temperature and disturbed cardial activities. The last to be slaughtered are animals whose digestive organs have been damaged by mustard gas, manifested by abundant salivation, and swelling of the mouth and the mucous membranes of the oral cavity.

Animals severely damaged by Lewisite, showing clear clinical symptoms, may not be slaughtered. If necessary, animals with medium or light damages may be used for meat but may not be slaughtered before 12 to 14 hours following the strike.

In all other cases required slaughtering is carried out earlier, for delays worsen the sanitary-hygienic qualities of the meat.

The veterinary organs make decisions on the utilization of the meat of livestock stricken by toxic substances for human nutrition. The meat is considered **provisionally** good in the following cases: average extent of damage of the skin caused by stable toxic substances and obvious clinical symptoms of poisoning; contamination of the animals through the respiratory organs with mustard gas or asphyxiating substances, and clinical symptoms of pneumonia and higher temperature of the body; contamination of the animals through the digestive organs with strongly manifested clinical symptoms of intoxication.

The meat of animals considered provisionally good may be used depending on the results of the examination. In all cases a final decision is taken following a veterinary expert evaluation.

How to act in strikes involving biological weapons?

The type of agent used must be assessed, together with the receptivity of the animals to the agent, the duration of their stay in the contaminated area, and the time between the strike and the full veterinary treatment.

Animals suffering or suspected of suffering from anthrax, contagious emphysema, foot and mouth disease, emphysematous gangrene, [bladzot], sheep enterotoxemia, epizootic lymphangitis, tsittacosis, cattle plague, camel plague, [memkoydoza], tularemia, Q-fever, rabies, tetanus, and botulism, may not be slaughtered along with animals which have not been subjected to full veterinary processing, and animals in a state of agony or else stricken by unidentified biological agents.

Under special conditions the slaughtering of animals located in an area contaminated with cattle plague may be slaughtered providing that they show no symptoms of the disease and have a normal body temperature. In the case of animals infected by the foot and mouth disease agent, the slaughtering must follow the veterinary processing as soon as possible (in the case of animals exposed to contamination with anthrax, after 14 days following the vaccination and 3 days after the taking of the serum). In the case of symptoms of the disease and a reaction to the vaccine, and of animals suspected of suffering from agents nonpathogenic to humans (Pasteurellosis, Aujeszky's disease, pig erythema, and contagious pleuropneumonia in cattle), the slaughtering takes place after the veterinary processing.

All animals, regardless of the agent, must have their temperatures taken, processed a second time, and subjected to thorough preslaughtering veterinary examination before the slaughtering. After the slaughtering of animals stricken by biological agents, a thorough veterinary-sanitary expert examination is conducted. The conclusion on the utilization of the meat is issued on the basis of the results of the preslaughter examination and the veterinary-sanitary expert evaluation.

As we see, the adoption of a decision to slaughter animals stricken by nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons and the use of their meat is a complex problem. This demands of the civil defense organs in agricultural enterprises to be properly trained. Such training could be acquired in peacetime in the course of practical exercises and, particularly, courses for the retraining of specialists. In all cases, the civil defense managers within the system of the National Agro-industrial Union must upgrade the specialized training and readiness of staffs and formations to carry out such responsible and complex work properly and promptly.

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PROFILES OF LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE LEADERS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1980 pp 24-25

[Biographies: Awarded for Services to the Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic"]

[Text] Petur Stankovski

For 30 years he has worked within the Civil Defense system. From the very beginning of his labor career he realized that in order to achieve the GO [Civil Defense] objectives, only a conscientious and proper attitude toward work with the people would help. He considers both the rank and file and the commander identically responsible for the implementation of assignments.

In 1971, when Petur Stankovski was appoined Civil Defense chief of staff at the Balkanstroy Plant in Plovdiv, his first project was to surmount

the passive attitude which he discovered in some CO units. His rich experience suggested that however well a person may speak, however well he may defend his cause, he cannot win over the hearts of men without their trust. It is time that develops trust and personal example that triggers initiative in others. That is why, as in the past, he dedicated himself entirely to his work. He energetically undertook to set up a control center and protection premises, staff the formations, and develop training-material facilities. However, he triggered the interest of the CO fighters not only through such actions. A no lesser important impetus for activity is the conviction that they are needed, as he skillfully proved to them.

Having repeatedly received aid and assistance from the party organization at the plant, the chief of staff turned to it again, submitting precise measures for upgrading the effectiveness of Civil Defense work. The party bureau supported his suggestion that staff members be recruited among the specialists. This made it possible to broaden the range of competence of the main leading force in the CO structure--the staff. Its members, controlling the training of the formations, if properly trained, could eliminate errors and omissions on the spot. An engineer, an economist, or a physician--people practicing different professions--are now the first assistants of the chief of staff. A militant well-trained staff has been set up, united by the noble problem it is resolving, and by the innovative spirit and skill of the chief of staff in guiding his associates.

In the past few years the Balkanstroy Plant has been among the leaders in the socialist competition in Civil Defense in Plovdiv Okrug. Petur Stankovski deserves a great deal of credit for this. Awarding him the badge "For Services to the Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic" third class, it is a recognition of his constructive efforts.

Petko S. Tanchev has worked within the Civil Defense system since 1966. A former border troops officer, he lovingly accepted the position of chief of staff of a GO project. Subsequently, he became deputy chief of staff for propaganda and agitation in the Kolarov Rayon inSofia. For the past two years he has been chief of staff of Civil Defense in the city of Novi Iskur.

Novi Iskur is one of the young cities in the country (created by the Ukase of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic dated 12 December 1974). One could imagine the number of current problems which arise in preparing the defense of the population and the national economy, to be resolved along with numberless other problems related to living conditions, urban structure, and administrative services. Petko Tanchev faced intensive and meaningful adamant work from the very moment he assumed his new position. Using his rich experience, he began by studying the circumstances and marked the basic unresolved problems. Assisted by the Novi Iskur City BCP Committee and the obshtina GO chief, he undertook their systematic solution according to their importance. His personal contribution for the faster elaboration of the city's architectural plan is a reflection of defense problems. He then undertook to staff the formations, and draft the necessary documents which are already in very good condition.

As chief of staff, Petko Tanchev gives priority in his work to defense readiness. Along with the solution of many other problems, the flood area which would result in some critical situations has already been mapped precisely. The chief of staff received particularly valuable help from the chairman of the Novi Iskur Fatherland Front City Committee in gathering the necessary information. With his agreement, the Fatherland Front organizations in the districts undertook the description of the housing facilities and the collection of the necessary data on the flood zone.

On Petko Tanchev's suggestion, and with his personal participation, extensive agitation-propaganda Civil Defense work was mounted in the obshtina with the purpose, as emphasized in a special instruction on this subject, is to help to upgrade defense readiness. This resulted in the creation of a high feeling of responsibility among the GO workers and an understanding by the entire city population of the need to master means for defense from mass destruction weapons. The instruction was signed by the city party committee secretary. It is a valuable document whose implementation will contribute even further to improving Civil Defense preparations in Novi Iskur.

Comrade Petko Tanchev has received a number of awards for his high conscientiousness and feeling of responsibility. He is also the bearer of the badge "For Services to the Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic" third class.

Since 1956 Damyan Iv. Barsalov has been employed at the Republika Scientific Production Combine in Svoge. From member of the GO staff, interim chief of staff, he was promoted to chief of staff and for the past 10 years has headed the staff of this large enterprise.

The first thing which he learned as chief of staff and to which he pays particular attention, following the National Party Conference, is planning the training process. Damyan Barsalov also convinced his subordinates that skillful planning creates the best possible conditions for successful GO activities at the enterprise throughout the year. Unquestionably, economic activities are the first concern of everyone at the combine. However, he organized Civil Defense training in such a way as not to hinder the production process.

The chief of staff asked those involved in the formulation of the plan to consider in detail every measure and to link the plan with economic tasks. They must know when, and in what shop or production sector economic activities are the most intensive. How many people of some formations belong to one or another shop, and how would their absence (if necessary) affect the production process. A number of details were assessed profoundly in order to achieve the main objective: the day in which a GO exercise is planned to be utilized most effectively. His slogan is the following: Let us not waste the people's time because of oversights. If the people have set aside time and paid attention to their Civil Defense obligations, this time must be utilized to the maximum.

Asking Damyan Barsalov what method he prefers--persuasion or demand--his answer would be categorical. The GO personnel voluntarily participate in this noble activity. That is why the only way for upgrading

their activity is persuasion. The combine's party committee secretary has said of him that he is among the best party secretaries and an impeccable GO chief of staff. He considers Barsalov's most valuable quality his ability to work with people. That is precisely why he is perfectly familiar with the circumstances in the combine and with the training and possibilities of individuals. And that is why he can always determine what could be asked of someone and what should be assigned to someone. He is efficient, organized, and has a proper understanding of the problems to be resolved. For the past few years he has specifically emphasized the training of formations for action under critical circumstances created by industrial accidents or natural disasters. The fire-fighting crew actively participated in putting out a fire which broke out in one of the shops. The enterprise's chief of staff selflessly worked within its ranks.

Damyan Barsalov has been awarded the badges "For Services to the Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic" third and second class for his dedication to the work.

Neno M. Nenov is chief physician at the Aytos Rayon Hospital. Since 1975 he has also been the chief of the Medical-Sanitary Defense Service but has worked within the Civil Defense system far longer as commander of a medical support detachment. Both then and now he has dedicated a great deal of concern for the solution of problems related to the defense of and medical aid to the population under critical circumstances.

Solidly trained at the Higher Medical Institute, he then attended special courses at the Medical Academy, where he improved his training.

Even after that, however, Dr Nenov has worked steadily and adamantly to upgrade his knowledge and experience in providing medical aid. As a result, the medical support detachment he heads is staffed on time and engages in regular training as required. In order to be confident of its readiness, the chief of service engaged in unannounced investigations, in the course of which it was confirmed that over 90 percent of the personnel show up at the proper time.

Dr Nenov has displayed creativity and initiative in resolving medical support problems. A while ago a complex situation developed in the rayon in which the readiness of the medical service and the medical support detachment was tested in practice. After working in a sector treated with chemicals, a number of cooperative farmers of Dobra Polyana Village fell victim to phosphororganic intoxication. The medical service responded to the very first signal. Within a short time the casualties were taken to the hospital. The medical aid proved to be very effective. All casualties recovered and were sent home.

He carries out his obligations as chairman of the Bulgarian Red Cross Committee at the obshtina with a feeling of great responsibility. With his most active participation seven sanitation units have been set up within the obshtina area. Every year he recruits physicians to manage their regular training, among the most experienced medical workers in the consolidated hospital. Furthermore, the chief of medical service organizes, every year, a review of sanitation units. The competent commissions he appoints greatly contribute to their proper grading. The properly organized competitions under difficult circumstances contribute to the physical and moral training of sanitation unit personnel. This is helped by their practice in the hospital for which Dr Nenov creates proper conditions. At the same time, he also recruits lecturers among the medical personnel to provide medical training to the formations and the population. On his instructions the training is practical, as a result of which the people have already gained experience in first aid treatments and self-treatment.

Dr Nenov was awarded the high distinction--the badge "For Services to the Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic"--for such comprehensive humane and patriotic activities.

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BRIEFS

FILIPOV ACTIVITIES IN BURGAS--Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo and BCP Central Committee secretary, spoke at an expanded session on tourism held in Burgas today. He dwelled on the problem of introducing and applying the new economic approach in the tourist sector and on the tasks of improving the quantity and quality of tourist services. [AU181900 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 16 May 80]

BULGARIAN DELEGATION TO SPAIN--Madrid, 3 May (BTA Corresponent)--Today the official visit of the delegation to the Madrid city hall, headed by the mayor of the Bulgarian capital, Mr Mezhdurechki, has ended. Yesterday Mr Mezhdurechki was received by the King of Spain, Juan Carlos the First. At the meeting the favourable development of Bulgaro-Spanish relations was stressed and a wish was expressed for their further strengthening and expansion in the interests of peace and friendship between the two peoples, in the interests of international security and cooperation. During the visit in Spain the Bulgarian delegation exchanged experiences with the leadership of the Madrid city hall on the questions of urbanization of the two capitals, the management of the socioeconomic processes in the town, the creation of favourable environment for men and for the care of men. The parties to the talks said that very good conditions existed for further activation of mutual contacts. During his stay in Spain, Mr Mezhdurechki had meetings and talks with prominent political and social leaders on both bilateral issues and topical international problems. [Text] [AU032010 Sofia BTA in English 1846 GMT 3 May 80]

MINISTER OF HEALTH TO GENEVA--Academician Radoy Popivanov, minister of national health, has left for Geneva to attend the 33d General Assembly of the World Health Organization. [Text] [AU032010 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 3 May 80]

BULGARIAN-SWISS TELEVISION COOPERATION--Ivan Slavkov, director general of Bulgarian television, and (Pellio Mollo), director general of Swiss Radio and Television, signed a cooperation agreement in Montreux between the two countries. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 11 May 80]

BULGARIA-USSR COOPERATION IN CHEMICALS--Moscow, 5 May (BTA)--An up-to-1990 programme was signed here yesterday for economic, technological and scientific cooperation between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in the sphere of oil-refinery, the petrochemical and the rubber industry. The programme, which is the first of its kind, provides for further deepening of the links of specialization and cooperation, and for joint researches into the regeneration of worn out automobile tyres, for extension of the nomenclature list and the improvement of the quality of the technical rubber products and a number of manufactures of the two countries' petrochemical industries. Under the programme the Soviet Union will render technical cooperation to Bulgaria in the construction of a catalytic cracking complex near Burgas and of the new ethylene complex in Pleven. [Text] [AU061153 Sofia BTA in English 0805 GMT 6 May 80]

DELEGATION TO BRUSSELS--A delegation of the Bulgarian interparliamentary group has left for Brussels to attend the 4th Interparliamentary Conference for European Cooperation and Security. The delegation is led by academician Evgeniy Mateev. [Text] [AU101955 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 May 80]

HONORS FOR GENERAL GEORGIEV--The State Council has issued a decree presenting Maj Gen Aleksandur Georgiev Basmadzhiev the People's Republic of Bulgaria First Degree Order for his active participation in the struggle against fascism and capitalism and for his long service and active participation in building and consolidating the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and in connection with his 60th birthday. [Text] [AU101955 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 10 May 80]

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH ROMANIA--Bucharest, 10 May (BTA Correspondent)--Bulgaria's participation in the international salon of chemistry in Bucharest this year impressed both hosts and many foreign participants. The successes of the Bulgarian chemical industry, put on display convincingly in the Bulgarian pavilion, will open up possibilities for expanding business cooperation in this sphere. The forms of Bulgaro-Romanian cooperation in the field of chemistry have been regularly enriched in recent years and already include specialization, industrial joint production and many modern developments. It is planned in 1981-1985 period to step up the direct cooperation in the sphere of petrochemistry, soda productions, production processing and plastics industries. [Text] [AU101955 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 10 May 80]

MALAYSIAN AMBASSADOR'S DEPARTURE--Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the State Council, received yesterday (Datuk Zainal Abidin) Bin Sulong, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Federal Republic of Malaysia in our country, in connection with his forthcoming final departure from Bulgaria. The meeting was attended by Marin Yotov, deputy minister of foreign affairs. [Text] [AU101227 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 May 80 p 2]

DELEGATION TO WPC MEETING--A delegation of the National Committee for Defense of Peace led by Georgi Dimitrov Goshkin, committee's chairman, has left for Budapest to attend a session of the WPC Presidium. [Text] [AU101227 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 7 May 80]

CSSR NATIONAL HOLIDAY CELEBRATION--A celebration marking the 35th anniversary of the liberation of the CSSR from the Hitlerite yoke has been held at the Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia. "Ivan Mikhaylov, Krustyu Trichkov, Petur Dyulgerov, and Chudomir Aleksandrov attended the celebration. Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, read a report." Haraslav Hajna, Czechoslovak ambassador to Bulgaria, conveyed greetings. [AU101227 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 9 May 80]

BULGARIAN BANK IN FRANKFURT--A representation of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank has been opened in Frankfurt, the FRG. In this connection, Veselin (Ishmarov), chairman of the Bulgrian National Bank, and Dimitur Velinov, chairman of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank, gave a cocktail party in Frankfurt. [AU101227 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 8 May 80]

BULGARIAN-ITALIAN TRADE COOPERATION--Sofia, 14 May (BTA)--After the successfully terminated negotiations within the framework of the concluded general agreement, here today was signed a working programme for industrial and trade cooperation between Bulgarian economic and foreign trade organizations and the Italian ENI economic grouping for 1980-1981. The document provides for the expansion of cooperation in the chemical, textile and metallurgical industries. Cooperation in these branches will cover the construction of full projects in Bulgaria and third countries and also joint production and sale of petrochemical, chemical and pharmaceutical products, lubricants, antibiotics, etc. Various forms of industrial cooperation and the setting up of joint companies will be used for this purpose. [Text] [AU142037 Sofia BTA in English 1345 GMT 14 May 80]

COMPOSERS' UNION CONGRESS--On 14 May in Sofia the Second Congress of the Bulgarian Composers' Union took place. The morning session was attended by comrades Lyudmila Zhivkova, Georgi Yordanov, Stoyan Mikhaylov; Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council; Lyubomir Pavlov, BCP Central Committee cultural department head; creative unions' leaders and foreign delegations. Alesandur Raychev was elected chairman of the union. [AU142037 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 14 May 80]

LEADERS IN BLAGOEVGRAD--On 14 May in Blagoevgrad the 70th birthday of the former partisan Georgi Khadzhiivanov was marked. The celebration was attended by comrades Peko Takov, Krustyu Trichkov, Petur Dyulgerov and friends of Khadzhiivanov. [AU142037 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 14 May 80]

PEKO TAKOV IN PLEVEN--On 11 May in Pleven Peko Takov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the State Council, took part in and spoke at a meeting of former political prisoners, which marked the 35th anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 11 May 80 AU]

STANISHEV RECEIVES CYPRIOT DELEGATION--On 12 May Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, received a delegation of the Nicosia region of the Cypriot Restorative Party of the Working People [AKEL], which is visiting Plovdiv Okrug, at the invitation of BCP Plovdiv Okrug Committee. Opinions on the two parties' activities were exchanged and some issues of the international communist and workers' movement discussed. [AU122128 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 12 May 80]

INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL--The 10th International Film Festival devoted to the subject of the organization and automation of production-administrative processes opened in Sofia this morning. This festival is unique in Europe as regards its subject. In addition to delegations from socialist countries, representatives from Sweden, the United States, Britain, France, Italy and other countries are attending this year. The festival will present 74 films and will last one week. At the end of the festival the three best films will receive awards. [Text] AU122128 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 12 May 80 AU]

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SEMINAR--Varna, 12 May (BTA)--The 6th International Seminar on the Foreign Economic Problems of the developing countries opened here today. Bulgaria hosts by tradition this forum and the International Relations and Socialist Integration Institute with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences is its organizer. Representatives of about 15 countries of Asia and Africa, including Afghanistan, Algeria, Bangladesh, Guinea, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Kampuchea, Laos, Mozambique, Syria, Sri Lanka, as well as Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, the USSR, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, are participating in the seminar. [AU22128 Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT 12 May 80]

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM--An international symposium on problems connected with exploring public opinion has begun in Sofia. This conference was organized by the BCP Central Committee and was attended by delegations of the BCP, the Vietnamese Communist Party, the SED, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Cuban Communist Party, the PZPR, the MSZMP and the CPCZ. A delegation of the problems of peace and socialism journal was also present. Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary, opened the conference and conveyed greetings on behalf of the BCP Central Committee and of Todor Zhivkov. [AU131222 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 13 May 80]

CHINESE AMBASSADOR DEPARTURE--Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, received Meng Yue, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PRC to Bulgaria, on the occasion of his forthcoming, final departure from our country. [Text] [AU161723 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 May 80 p 8]

AMBASSADOR TO MAURITANIA--Nouakchott, 10 May--Stoyan Zaimov, the newly appointed ambassador plenipotenitary and extraordinary of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, yesterday presented his credentials to Lt Col Ould Haydala Khouna, president of the Military Committee for National Salavation. [Text] [AU132152 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 May 80 p 3]

KUBADINSKI RETURNS FROM BUDAPEST--On 13 May Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council and chairman of the National Preparatory Committee of the World Peace Parliament of the Peoples, which is to take place in Bulgaria from 23 to 27 September 1980, returned from Budapest. [AU132152 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 13 May 80]

SOCIALIST COUNTRIES' CONFERENCE--The 21st session of the Socialist Intergovernmental Commission for Cooperation in Computer Technology has opened in the Vitosha VIP Hotel in Sofia. Delegations of the GDR, Cuba, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Hungary, the CSSR and of Bulgaria as well as of the Moscow coordinational center, attended the conference. Andrey Lukanov delivered a speech. [Text] [AU131222 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 13 May 80]

CSO: 2200

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO ETHIOPIA--On 27 February Guenter Mauersberger, new GDR ambassador to Ethiopia, presented his credentials to Lt Col Megistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, in Addis Ababa. Ambassador Mauersberger conveyed the most cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, which were cordially returned by Mengistu Haile Mariam. The Provisional Military Administrative Council chairman underscored that the November 1979 visit of the GDR party-state delegation led by Erich Honecker, and the treaty on friendship and cooperation concluded between the two countries have created favorable conditions for the further development and deepening of bilateral relations and fruitful cooperation. "Mengistu Haile Mariam stressed that Socialist Ethiopia and the GDR hold identical views also on questions of international politics, especially worldwide detente, disarmament and peace, as well as the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and racism, and that they stand in solidarity at the side of the peoples struggling for national independence and social progress." [AU291940 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Feb 80 p 2]

OCEANOGRAPHIC RESEARCH OFF MOZAMBIQUE--The GDR research vessel Alexander von Humboldt of the GDR Academy of Sciences has left the port of Maputo for a 6-week research cruise alon$_{b}$ the coast of the People's Republic of Mozambique. This research project is being carried out within the framework of the cooperation between the two states in the fisher sector. The primary research target is the examination of the biological conditions in that part of the Indian Ocean. [AU291940 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Feb 80 p 1]

SED DELEGATION IN COLOMBO--An SED Central Committee delegation headed by Johannes Chemnitzer, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Neubrandenburg Bezirk leadership, arrived in Colombo on Monday [24 Mar] to participate in the 11th Party Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. It met with the party's General Secretary K. P. Silva on Tuesday morning for friendly talk on topical questions regarding the two parties' preparatory work for the forthcoming respective party congresses. On Tuesday afternoon the delegation had a cordial meeting with the chairman of the Sri Lanka Communist Party, Dr S. Wickremasinghe. [AU272045 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Mar 80 p 2]

GDR-ANGOLAN COOPERATION--Wolfgang Rauchfuss, deputy Council of Ministers chairman and president of the GDR side of the joint GDR-Angola economic committee, received Angolan Foreign Trade Minister Lopo do Nascimento on Tuesday [25 Mar] for a talk which centered on the further deepening of economic and scientific-technical cooperation. The two sides assessed the present level of economic cooperation and the preconditions for further dynamic development of relations and goods exchange. [AU272045 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Mar 80 p 2]

CSO: 2300

WAYS TO IMPROVE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY DISCUSSED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 4, Apr 80 pp 65-75

[Article by Sylwester Zawadzki]

[Text] Problems concerning further development of socialist democracy played a large part in pre-Congress discussions and in deliberations at the Eighth PZPR Congress. Much attention was given to them in the Guidelines, in the Politburo's program report, and in an Eighth Congress resolution. As expressed in documents of the Party's highest forum, development of socialist democracy is not a supplement to assumptions of socioeconomic development, but is an integral component of the process of socialist building, an inseparable part of its program. This is a large task for the entire Party, an important factor in stimulating socioeconomic development, reducing its social costs, and making better use of its reserves and available strength and resources.

"Even the most warranted decisions made by the leadership," Edward Gierek said, "cannot improve management efficiency. What is needed is broad, active and conscious participation of the working people in managing, in establishing optimal production plans, in introducing technical advancements, in improving organizational efficiency, productivity and work discipline, and reducing manufacturing costs"(1).

The strategy of the 1970's combined economic tasks with social progress and pointed to a reciprocal connection between social and economic development. This was a large achievement. The strategy of the 1980's--as revealed in the Eighth Congress' resolutions--will be to acknowledge further development of socialist democracy as an inseparable condition of this progress.

The Politburo's program report contains a range of tasks aimed at further democratization of the socialistic political system. In comparison with

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(1) Edward Gierek's speech at the PZPR voivodship conference in Radom, January 16, 1980, TRYBUNA LUDU, January 17, 1980.

the directions outlined at the Second PZPR Conference (people's councils, workers' self-government and social control committees), this is a more comprehensive program, covering all basic forms of socialist democracy. Particular emphasis has been placed on the functioning efficiency and quality of democratic institutions, measured not only by quantitative indices but above all by the actual influence of the citizens on matters of the State, region, workplace and surroundings. This type of approach to the decision progress means that democratic procedures are acknowledged to be an indispensable condition for increasing its efficiency and emphasizes the necessity to resist technocratic tendencies.

The superiority of democratic procedures is determined by the fact that the modes of decision-making appropriate to these procedures, the actual consultation with interested circles on these plans, considerably increased the probability of their relevance. Despite the popularized technocratic viewpoint, shifting decision powers from lower to upper levels and from social (representative) to professional bodies in no way guarantees that the decisions are proper. The democratic course of action is an indispensable condition of the effectiveness of decision-making, action in accordance with the viewpoints and feelings of the citizens, action that is acceptable to them and which will release the social energy essential to accomplish the plans.

The importance of democratic procedures is not confined to their influence on economic efficiency. The assurance of real social influence on the shaping of living conditions is an autonomous value, one way of human self-realization.

Thus democratic procedures cannot be regarded solely as a prerequisite for legitimizing the decisions made, but above all as a necessary condition for improving them both socially as well as economically.

The problem of raising the standing of the Sejm as the highest organ of State authority, ensuring full realization of its constitutional powers, is most important in development of socialist democracy.

The starting point for further reforms should be the favorable changes that occurred during the process of fulfilling the Sejm's legislative functions. They are expressed in the Sejm's much greater influence on both the content of the legislation (the commissions, with their penetrating approach to government plans, deserve credit for this), as well as on the course of their execution. The Sejm's increased influence on the entire legislative process is shown by the examination of law plans and executive acts and active participation of the Legislative Works Committee in acomplishing a law improvement program. This influence, as shown by work experience in amending the administrative code of conduct, can be still greater, and should find expression mainly by considerable expansion of the Sejm's legislative initiative.

The Sejm's experience also shows the great importance of social consultation. To improve the legislative process it is essential that there be wider appeal to public opinion in cases of laws of fundamental importance; this refers to publication of plans and broad public discussion.

During the sixth and seventh terms, the Sejm more frequently used its authority to make decisions on the basic course of the State's activity. Continuation of this activity requires that more committees be included both as initiators of these types of resolutions, and to fulfill the role of co-reporters and controllers of their execution.

In accomplishing the control function, particular activity is shown by the Sejm's permanent committees. Much that is useful occurs within this sphere of activity. For example, committees make increasingly more frequent use of both governmental and non-governmental sources of information, such as people's councils, social organizations, private controls, experts from scientific institutes and leading specialists. This inspires inquisitiveness and criticism in examining information and reports from central administrative organs. As a result, a large number of requests and opinions are submitted to the administrative organs by the Sejm committees. This increases their influence not only on implementation of government policies, but also on activities of individual ministries.

The committees' control activities should more effectively oppose bureaucracy, formalism and "official optimism". The committees should more thoroughly examine the replies to their requests and opinions, taking a firmer position on them and above, all, responsibly implementing the requests that have been granted. The practice of submitting annual reports by the Presidium of the Sejm on the committees' requests and opinions at the Sejm's plenary meetings should be considered.

An increase in the Sejm's importance has also been seen at the plenary meetings. But the problem of reducing the disproportion between the working character of discussions at committee meetings and its declarativeness at plenary sessions continues. This makes it necessary to greatly increase the Sejm's influence on the process of passing bills on national socioeconomic development and the State budget, and strengthening the Sejm's control over execution of both these acts.

This requires that more time be allotted for discussion in the Sejm committees, and that the proposed plans and alternative solutions be submitted earlier. This is very important in raising the social standing and effectiveness of the plan and the budget. To do this, there should be a restriction on making changes in the plan and the budget during the year and ensuring the Sejm full information and control at those times when the changes are indispensable. Results of plenary deliberations and the workings of the Sejm committees should be issued in the form of a document submitted by the Presidium of the Sejm to the Council of Ministers for consideration and decision.

Establishing tours of duty and meetings with the electorate is very important in strengthening the deputies' ties with the public. Further development requires that information on the work of the deputies and committees be much more widely disseminated to the public by the mass media.

To strengthen the Sejm's ties with the electorate, the ever-increasing flow of citizens' complaints and suggestions is extremely important. The situation has reached the point that the consideration of these complaints should be under the surveillance of one of the Sejm committees and that the Supreme Chamber of Control cooperate more closely with the Sejm on this matter.

The reorganization of local authorities during 1972-1975 created important conditions for further development of democracy. The experience of the last few years makes it possible to set many requirements in this regard.

First there is the matter of raising the standing of people's councils as organs of State authority and fundamental social self-government organs. The designation of the first secretaries of the party as chairmen of the people's councils modified, to a great degree, the mechanisms of local authority. But it was not fully exploited for its democratization, for selecting methods of wielding political leadership by the party through representative organs and within the framework of its constitutional powers. There is still a great deal to be done in this matter. It is not just a matter of these organs' executing their statutory obligations (e.g., fulfilling the requirement of four sessions a year), but also that they not confine themselves to the uncritical confirmation of budget plans, whose main indicators have been dictated by a higher-level administration. It is important that the council and the councillors truly express their opinions and those of the electorate and that these opinions have an effect on the text of the resolutions considered.

The council's session cannot be a ceremony granting legal force to decisions made, on their merits, by an upper-level administrative body after approval at the local (or, if need be, higher) party stage, but it should be the final stage in the democratic decision process. The influence of representative bodies, and through them that of the local community, should affect the fundamentally important decisions, and not simply the secondary matters and how decisions made at the upper levels are to be executed.

An important factor in strengthening the council's control over local administrative bodies is interpellation which, if more fully utilized, can, as practice has shown, considerably improve the session's standing. Consistent use of council sessions and committee meetings to confront professional opinions with sociopolitical opinions, social needs with actual potentials, adding local initiatives to nationwide policies, is one way in which the councils can be strengthened and the processes of decision-making and execution can be improved, thus further improving administrative functioning. To do this, the mechanism of people's councils, which is comprised of sessions, presidiums, committees and councillors' activities, must be regarded not just as "schools for governing" for the broad masses, but as local organs of State authority that give guidance to administrative bodies and exercise supervision over them.

The need for a new approach to the council's role arises also from their designation as basic organs of social self-government. In accomplishing this function, the councils can find much greater support from close cooperation with other self-government organizations.

To strengthen the role of the councils as organs of authority and basic self-government organs, there must be a degree of decentralization which, within the framework of the plan's discipline and the State budget, will strengthen the financial and economic bases of their activities. In 1979 the first steps in this direction were begun, which should be regarded as the beginning of further changes. In the financial field, the changes signify a more accurate definition of sources of income of people's councils, which should lead to strengthening the position of city and gmina people's councils, demarcating income sources for councils on the primary and voivodship level, increasing the independence of gmina councils in distributing gmina funds and returning to people's councils the authority to dispose of a budget surplus. When considered in the context of steps leading to development of small industry and relating it to the budget of the people's councils, these kinds of changes are the first step in increasing the councils' financial independence and expanding the scope of local management.

Work directed towards intensifying the decentralization process is being conducted in the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers. Consideration is being given to assigning to local management such fields as social and cultural infrastructure, small industry, crafts and services, general construction, retail trade, basic fields of agriculture, municipal management, and the entire technical infrastructure.

Returning the above fields to local management and local planning, at the same time restricting the assignment of indices from above, would create conditions favoring expansion of social initiatives. It would improve management efficiency and increase the administration's and local authorities' sense of responsibility towards satisfying the needs of the local people. It is extremely important that the scope of local management not be subjected to constant fluctuation and that it become more stabilized.

The next extremely critical activity, from the standpoint of development of local democracy, is further improvement in local administration efficiency. This process is aimed at improving the administrative structure, raising personnel qualifications and increasing law and order.

The first of these should take into regard the proper division of jurisdiction between upper and lower levels of State apparatus. There should be a principle by which decisional jurisdiction in matters of local importance should be settled in those units which are most familiar with local needs and conditions. In order to settle these problems, it would help greatly to define the legal status of the voivode and the gmina leader, which, in connection with the changes being made in the scope of local management, may require augmentation. The process of ranking the structure should be aimed also at synchronizing numerous special-purpose divisions with the basic territorial divisions of the country.

The matter of personnel qualifications and further strengthening of law and order is particularly important in connection with the amending of the administrative code of conduct and expansion of the scope of judicial control over the legality of administrative decisions. These changes call for much higher standards of personnel qualifications and levels of work, to which further activization of social control and social control committees is inseparably linked.

In amending the Polish People's Republic Constitution, the principle of self-government was raised to the status of one of the fundamental political principles of the Republic. In accordance with this principle, self-government institutions were appointed in all fields of our social life. Despite the progress achieved, the degree to which the potential created by self-government is utilized is inadequate.

Among the self-government institutions, the workers' self-government is of fundamental importance. The expansion and modernization of manufacturing potential during the 1970's, the increase in numbers, qualifications and consciousness of the working class, were responsible for the fact that the scope of workers' self-government powers, established in a 1958 law, and its organizational plan, became less and less adequate. It was necessary to extend the workers' self-government institutions to all plants and State enterprises. The authority of the self-government to jointly decide basic matters of enterprises and their work forces was greatly expanded, as was its jurisdictional control in all matters affecting production activity, job conditions, and social atmosphere. The Workers' Self-Government Committee /KSR/ sessions were supplied with their own permanent executive in the form of a KSR presidium and with problem committees functioning between sessions. The most wide-spread form of workers' self-government activity became the systematically organized production conferences.

The basic requisite for further development of a workers' democracy is improvement in operating efficiency of all these forms of workers' self-government. The KSR sessions should be a forum for dissemination of clear and comprehensive information to the personnel on all basic problems of the plants and departments, consultation on all intended endeavors and decisions, placement of workers' proposals on the agenda, and social control over their accomplishment. To do this, it is essential that the KSR sessions be preceded by well-prepared production conferences, which will make the decisions made at the session a reflection of the position of the entire personnel. In large enterprises, so-called small KSR's should also be appointed in all plants and departments. The conference of workers' self-government representatives at the association level must be reinforced.

The goal of the KSR session cannot be just a presentation of previously agreed-upon positions in order to obtain their formal acceptance by the workers' representatives. The sessions should be a forum for comprehensive discussions, the confrontation of positions presented in managements reports with proposals made in joint reports based on the problem committees' work

and submitted to KSR members. This is a way to increase the influence of self-government organs on plant operations planning and on the present plant operations, on correct solving of social-welfare matters and industrial safety and hygiene problems, and especially on distributing resources and the social and housing fund, in accordance with established principles. Strengthening the self-government's control function in relation to the management is a matter of great social importance. This means that work on a law regulating the enterprise's legal position must be accelerated. A law must also be passed on workers' self-government which applies to the new conditions. Work in this area has been begun on the initiative of the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

Self-government at the dwelling place in becoming increasingly important. The reorganization conducted in 1973 created a favorable climate for this. Now also the problem of ensuring that the activities of the dweller's self-government bodies are more effective is being recognized, the problem of improving the quality of their work by developing social initiatives and eliminating the bureaucratic-technocratic obstacles standing in its path. This is possible mainly by integrating all social forces and institutions operating in behalf of the people at their place of residence.

The vitalmat rs of city residents in the sphere of social policy, and particularly family aid and upbringing (through broader expansion of self-government of youth) are linked most closely with strengthened social control over the activities of the housing administration, business, service and municipal institutions, in which the social control committees should give increasing help.

Rural self-government has rich traditions and is very important in our country. But it must increase its participation in modernizing and increasing agricultural production, in proper land management.

Strengthening self-government in the village requires that the actual state of activity and efficiency of the agricultural cooperatives and other forms of farming self-government be examined. The need for better coordination of efforts in all forms of village self-government is apparent. During discussions at the Eighth Party Congress, it was stipulated that the role of the village's basic self-government, the village meetings, be enlarged. Deserving of special attention are the many local initiatives aimed at increasing the effectiveness of these meetings by equipping them with an executive in the form of village people's councils, supporting the village administrator's activities, and at the same time playing an important coordinating role by fulfilling the function of a permanent committee for social action and a social control organ, responsible directly to the village community. There is still a great deal to be done in improving the work of the village administrators, who should to a greater degree contribute to the accomplishment of the gmina administration's tasks.

The fulfillment by the GRN /Gmina People's Council/ of a role as basic self-government body on the gmina level is fundamentally important for development of rural self-government. The collective deliberations at the sessions must be based on individual actions of councillors as activists and representatives of rural self-government.

One of the important tasks, after the Eighth Party Congress, is activization of cooperative self-government. It should be remembered that the cooperative movement now includes in its operations those fields of socioeconomic life in which the problem of quality of working and living conditions appears most prominently. Such fields will be named as, e.g., means of subsistence in the city and in the village, housing construction and allocation and management of housing resources, establishment of living conditions in housing projects, organization and rendering of expanded services, etc. These are fields that create both requirements and conditions for authentic development of self-government. This requires that cooperative independence be properly defined and that the principle of its internal democratism be consistently observed. Under these conditions, guarantees of representation and protection of legitimate local and environmental interests are inherent, as are also conditions for raising the level of awareness and social culture, expansion of activity, stimulation of initiatives serving to make use of local social and material reserves.

In a more democratic and self-governing model of the cooperative movement, the mechanisms of social self-regulation and self-correction, mechanisms of innovation, function more strongly and more effectively, as a result of which management can be more efficient and effective. A cooperative movement so conceived should constantly be a factor in authentic collectivization of property and in the processes of managing this property. This is particularly important during the period when a developed socialism, characterized by a high degree of democratism and self-government, is being formed.

Treating the development of socialist democracy as an integral part of the Eighth Party Congress program makes it essential for the basic party levels and organizations to formulate a new approach to many problems. This is accompanied by an awareness that this is not a doctrinal problem but an objective necessity conditioned by requirements of further economic, social and cultural development, that an integral part of party strategy in the 1980's is involved. Just as reinforcement of the party's leadership role is a factor stimulating development of social democracy, so the further development of socialist democracy is one of the basic conditions for reinforcing the party's leadership role and elevating its authority.

Reinforcement and realization of the party's role is inseparably linked to deepening and tightening its bonds with the nation, bonds that determine its effectiveness and the authenticity of political leadership. The stronger our party is, the better it serves socialism and the stronger are the bonds that link it to the community.

The PZPR leads the nation, for its program is the best mirror of the nation's goals, aspirations and interests. The program is and should be co-produced by both the multi-million mass of party members as well as by the allied parties and social organizations encompassing broad non-party circles. During the building of a developed socialist community, conditions arise for the ideologic-political leadership to correspond to the model of active dialogue and partnership cooperation, which allows for disclosure of differing viewpoints and at the same time creates a plane for surmounting them, making it easier to choose the best way to proceed.

A better understanding of the true meaning of national unity, as indicated by the Politburo's program report at the Eighth Party Congress, is very important in strengthening the party's leadership role. "The national unity that we are building," Edward Gierek said, "has a distinct class substance. Its foundation is acceptance of a socialist political system, socialist State policies and socialist international alliances. Not only does such a unity have a patriotic value, it serves Poland and the nation. On this basis and within this context, democratic discussions should develop, and the diversity of viewpoints and positions aimed at developing optimal programs and solutions be expressed.

"Such is a truest meaning of the activities of the National United Front /FJN/, which links all patriots regardless of their origin and social status, education and occupation, or religious leaning."(2)

And thus the strengthening of party leadership involves an emphasis on realization of the multi-subjectivity of the socialist model of a political mechanism, which is expressed in the action of representative bodies, self-government units and diverse social organizations. Along with this, the activities of party members in these units and organizations become increasingly important. The concomitant consistent subordination of the administration to organs and units of socialist democracy is the next important condition for strenthening party leadership. The relations that are maintained between the party and the administration must contribute to an increased sense of responsibility, to resistance to attempts to paralyze activity or to treat social initiative with disdain, and other bureaucratic manifestations that are very damaging to socialism.

Strengthening of party leadership requires a constant improvement in political culture, which is comprised of the culture of administering and the culture of representing (deputy, councillor). The ability to properly, with principle, and creatively fulfill the duties of a representative demands moral courage, ties with the community and the ability to work with people, social imagination and sensitivity, and the ability to place the good of the whole above

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(2) NOWE DROGI, No 3, 1980, p 73.

personal interests. In developing these characteristics, it is also necessary to shape the mechanisms of cadre politics and the bases of the various types of representative and social organs, to select people who are creative, who are able to function socially and who have moral-political backbone.

The characteristics we speak of are indispensable in managine effective control for prevention of technocratic-bureaucratic tendencies disrupting law and order in social life. It must be assumed that none of the subjects of the political system can be beyond control and the the standing of self-control and mutual control must be improved.

We have before us the task of shaping a fully coherent control system in which the forms of political, representative, intra-administrative, judicial, prosecutorial and social controls and closely linked. The appointment of social control committees as an important factor in inspiring, coordinating and improving the efficiency of various forms of social controls, was very important from this standpoint. To improve the control system, the coordination and cooperation of State and professional control organs with social control units is necessary. This is an important manifestation of further strengthening of the guarantees of citizen's rights, a critical step in the process of strengthening the position of the individual in the State, and at the same time, as a result of its preventative function, it is an important factor in improving the administration's efficiency and its relations with the citizen.

One of the gains of the past decade is the development of social consultation, particularly with the staffs of the larger plants. Further development of this institution will be a guarantee of the realization of the constitutional rights of the citizens to participate in government. At the same time it will contribute to better fulfillment of the obligations placed by the constitution on the organs of authority and administration in clarifying the State's basic policy goals to the people.

Along with improving political conditions, we should prepare indispensable legal solutions which should form the organizational framework for consultations. The kinds of matters in which consultations would be obligatory on the national scale should be defined (e.g., five-year plans, development programs for specific socioeconomic fields of life, plans for the more important normative acts), and also on the scale of territorial units and plants. This means also that the procedure for conducting consultations and dealing with the proposals submitted during the consultations must be defined.

Consultation is an important plane in democratizing the legislative process and increasing its effectiveness. Observance of this principle will tighten the bonds of the representative organs with the citizens and improve the work of these organs, and also improve the quality of the administration's work.

One may encounter views that the period of economic difficulty is not favorable to development of socialist democracy. Obviously the difficult economic situation and its consequences cannot be ignored. But this cannot be an obstacle in the realization of a program for development of socialist democracy. On the contrary, in the face of economic difficulties, this development is even more indispensable.

If the resources of goods for allocation are limited and they do not fully satisfy the very fast-growing social needs, the problem of fair distribution becomes especially important. It cannot be properly resolved without increasing the influence of the public on economic and social policy, without strengthening social control over distribution of goods and the method of settling citizens' matters by State organs.

It is also obvious that the struggle with waste, the efforts in behalf of management efficiency, will require action by everyone, and therefore the elimination of bureaucratic-technocratic barriers, which impede this action, elimination of indications of formalism and ostentatiousness, continuous stimulation and utilization of social initiative, all of which is possible only under conditions of authentic and effective operation of all units of a socialist democracy. Its development is a requisite for ever-fuller utilization of a tremendous potential of the creative forces in our nation.

The Eighth PZPR Congress program inspires us to greater searches in this area. This is shown by the position expressed in the program report on strengthening the canon, "the party leads, the government rules", in which its meaning was more precisely defined. This is equivalent to setting an important goal before the ideological front and the social sciences. The direction of the tasks that will be undertaken will be aimed at ensuring closer cooperation of party levels with representative organs and social organs in conducting systematic control over the operation of administrative organs.

Reinforcement of the party's administrative authority requires that formalism and bureaucratism be resisted at the same time. This means that State and social organs and their links with the system of representative organs must be strengthened.

It may be said that the Eighth Party Congress has assumed a direction for strengthening the party's role in the permanent development of socialist democracy, in improving the standing of all units of the sociopolitical mechanism and all social forces making up the National Unity Front, forces which should not only cooperate in accomplishing its program, but should participate in its formulation.

Such was the substance of the social support given the Eighth Party Congress' program, which is the foundation of the National Unity Front's election platform, the March elections to the Sejm and the voivodeship people's councils.

9295
CSO: 2600

WORKERS SEE MANAGEMENT, ACTIVISTS AS GETTING UNFAIR PERQUISITES

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 18, 3 May 80 p 3

[Article by Danuta Zagrodzka]

> [Text] Work gives money. It can also give satisfaction, pride, and it can satisfy ambitions and aspirations, but this does not happen to everyone. Everyone gets money and it is so far the clearest measure of expended effort. But nowadays work gives not just cash--part of the return to the worker is in the form of social services and is, as statistics show, not an insignificant supplement to earnings, if these services are used. Work also gives something that E. Skalski (POLITYKA, 51/52) calls perquisites, i.e. access to scarce and sought-after goods. But these are not available to everyone or everywhere. As to who gets what and where something is given, conflicting information circulates, but there is so much of it and it is so stormy that there is not doubt that this matter somehow offends the social sense of fairness.

We decided to find out what a large factory has to offer and how it divides it up. For comparison, we also looked at a medium-size factory. Both factories are of long standing--the Swierczewski Precision Products Factory is under the Ministry of Machine Engineering Industry; the Stomil Rubber Industry Plants, formerly Rygawar, are under the Ministry of the Chemical Industry. The subordinate relationships seem to be important. First, not every ministry is favorably located in the hierarchy; second, the dividing up occurs not only horizontally but also vertically.

The secretary of the plant council at the Swierczewski plant (5,000 employees, 30 percent women, average wages 6,000 zlotys) tells us that he must first communicate with the management. The meeting takes place in the Council office, with the manager and the supervisor of the social services department present. The plant council of a large factory is, in fact, a large institution with full-time staffing, very busy. Officially at least, all

applications, all decisions, the entire "sesame" of the factory, is in the hands of the council.

--"The manager does not give out an automobile without consulting with us," says the secretary.

Why Feelings Run High

First let us consider that which is commonplace and stirs no great feelings: summer camps and winter vacations for all children who want to go. Also "summer" and "winter in the city" programs for all those who remain. Meals in the cafeterias, 16 zlotys each with prepaid meal tickets or 18 zlotys on an individual spot basis--this is the actual cost of the food, the personnel, kitchen equipment, fuel, etc., is subsidized by the factory. But few people use the cafeteria. It prepares 230-300 dinners and could prepare many more. Workers and council activists themselves prefer to eat at home. It costs no more and they get more to eat.

So the cafeteria is used by the single people, mainly by the officials. A paradox in a country where shopping is so difficult and where almost all the women work! But this is true also at Stomil, although there a dinner, delivered in a cauldron, costs only 12 zlotys. Everyone can use the cafeteria (in Stomil, 550 employees, 60 percent women, average wage 5,000 zlotys, no cafeteria). The poorer grades of meat are always available and sausage products are delivered twice weekly from a private producer.

The weekend respite (Saturday and Sunday) is organized. The plant has seven buses and whoever wants to can ride on them to rest areas on the Narew and Liwiec rivers. The plant has its own vacation house in Jastrzebia Gora and another one in the Karkonosze. Calculated in round numbers over the entire year there is space there for 7,000 people, two weeks each. But generally everyone wants to go in July and August, and so there is a shortage of space. Still half the personnel can be housed in the factory's own cottages from May to September. Everyone want to go to the shore. They've had enough of Karkonosze, so they trade off with other plants and buy referrals to Workers' Vacation Fund vacations. A full-pay stay in Jastrzebia Gora costs 2,800 zlotys, but a worker and his wife pay less, most often 800-900 zlotys per person depending on average income per person in family. On the whole, repayment amounts to 850 to 1,800 zlotys, the higher figure paid by those whose income is more than 6,000 zlotys. Single mothers often do not pay at all.

Stomil also has its own rest center in Jadwisinie near Warsaw, for several hundred persons. This is a resort which, for reasons unknown, was assigned to such a small plant. Two weeks in Jadwisinie, in a hotel, costs 2,000 zlotys--in cottages, 1,400 zlotys. Repayment averages 600 zlotys and is calculated not by income per person but by amount of earnings per family member individually. The food there is very good, which is a plus. But most people have already become tired of it, so that it is used now mostly by mothers with small children who want to be close to home. Nevertheless, last year half the employees spent two weeks in Jadwisinie.

These rest houses are a large financial burden to the plants. Only since they have been managed efficiently, rented out in the winter for various conventions and conferences, have losses decreased. The Swierczewski plant adds about 800 thousand zlotys to Jastrzebia Gora (in all, the house costs 8.8 million zlotys annually. Stomil adds 300 thousand zlotys to its house, which costs 9.5 million annually).

If a worker takes his vacation elsewhere, he receives partial reimbursement for his expenses, at both plants.

Parents pay, on an average, 600 zlotys for their children's summer camp, although it now costs the plant 4,000 zlotys per child. I find this sum hard to believe but the figures were presented to me in great detail and this sum was confirmed also in Stomil. The stay in a health camp, which is for 30 days and for which Stomil received an allocation of three spaces this year, costs the plant 5,000 zlotys!

This leads to a discussion on the size of deductions for the social fund. At Swierczewski, deductions are 3 percent of the wages fund, which produces 8.1 million zlotys. In Stomil, deductions are 5.04 percent, giving 1.3 million zlotys. In both plants there is agreement that in view of the increase in costs of services, the actual value of the deductions has dropped.

What is Really Valuable?

What else can the plant give in everyday things? Help in placing a child in kindergarten or nursery. Every mother know what that means. Swierczewski sponsors two kindergartens. Sponsorship means that somethings the plant loans a bus for an excursion, furnishes the sweets at Christmas, helps in redecorating--there are many services that an affluent plant can offer a poor, as a rule, kindergarten. So when kindergarten enrollment time comes around, the doors to the plant council do not close. The colleague from the Women's Council visits the inspectorates, telephones the kindergartens, and somehow places all the children, not always close to home, unfortunately, but somehow they get in. In Stomil the new council (as of 1 April) has already handled a case where, with the help of a director who made the right phone call, an employee's child was accepted in a nursery. This is a very real service that the plant can offer its women employees.

I would rather not think of the situation the mother is in who works in an "unimportant" place, in an institute, laundry or post office. But perhaps everyone of them has something to offer.

Among the matters which affect only a few, but where the plant can be of service, are loans for newlyweds. They can get credit to set up housekeeping. According to regulations now in effect, 40 percent of this credit can be paid by the factory. The condition--earnings per person do not exceed 2,500 zlotys and the young person has earned this privilege. In the

Swierczewski plant, the ZSMP /Union of Socialist Polish Youth/ selects the deserving person. In Stomil this type of help is now given. They feel that people prefer to use the relief-loan fund, which is operated very well and where no interest is charged.

We now go on to what is really valuable, what evokes tears and anger and where people are most watchful. Housing. Six hundred families are on the waiting list at the Swierczewski plant. Some belong to a cooperative, others do not. The cooperatives in Wolomin, Otwock and Pruszkow have not accepted members for a long time and yet many workers commute from there. In 1976, 1977 and 1978, no one got anything. Finally, last year 23 apartments were allocated, all finished at the tenant's expense.

--"We are paying for the cooperative's inefficiency," says the manager. "They did not plan ahead, now have a huge backlog, and are now looking for helpers in the factories..."

There is no doubt that construction by unskilled workers costs more than work by specialists, and that it takes longer. The cooperatives put up the framework and the roof, and the factories must do the plumbing, plastering, painting, lay the floors, and install the fixtures. From the public's point of view this procedure is not very reasonable. Obviously, the new tenant can, at the most, do the cleanup work and remove the debris, and that is the extent of his role in construction. In order to finish a house, the factory must find skilled workers, which it does not have, and that is why the first house takes such a long time to build. This year the plant will receive 70 more and it is hoped that things will go better. They have come to an agreement with the builders and "on the basis of cooperation between brotherly socialist enterprises", as the manager calls it, it should go faster. He does not try to explain this euphemism, for more expensive or not, reasonable or unreasonable, every plant fights as hard as it can to get this housing, along party, administration and voivodship lines. These were only general considerations. Regardless of what they get, one way or another, it's only a drop in the bucket, despite the fact that three dwellings will be under the sponsorship of the ZSMP and two workers' hotels have already been converted into rotational housing.

And so the allocation of housing is a very serious matter. Most of the bitterness is over new automobiles and housing. Anyone who has not worked at the plant at least five years is not in contention. The criteria are as follows: time in service, value to the plant, present housing conditions. Applications are submitted to the department councils--the division committees check the conditions and establish a priority list. But this list is not permanent. Stipulations from the department council and the division committee go through the plant management to the plant council. When something becomes available for allocation, the housing committee once more verifies the circumstances and establishes the actual priorities. The list, which is posted first in the departments and then on the general bulletin board, is confirmed by the Workers' Self-Government Presidium and is signed

by all of the management and activists. Strictly speaking, there is no way someone not authorized, a friend or relative, can get on the list. I am also assured that there are few complaints, that everyone is free to speak out, and the people at the plant know the most about each other.

--"Look," the council secretary said to me as I was leaving, "one worker went all the way up to the Warsaw committee with a written complaint that we did not give him housing. This is very time-consuming, for now a committee will have to be delegated, reports written, and our decision will be upheld, as usual."

--"Perhaps you don't like to admit you made a mistake."

--"No, it's just that we allocate housing fairly."

At the moment no one knows whether there will be more housing, or when. So no one on the waiting list knows what to expect, and that is what is bad.

--"If we finish these buildings on schedule, perhaps as a reward they'll give us the next ones, but we aren't sure."

In Stomil, 100 people are waiting for housing. Last year, after a lapse of several years, five of them received housing, for which the plant paid the cooperative 2 million zlotys, irrespective of what the future tenants had paid in. Those who received housing were: Jane, who had been on the waiting list for 10 years and commuted; the X's, both in production; and a lady engineer. In a small plant people know each other and a good deal about each other, the control over allocation is less formal, although of course there were the committees, the signatures, and the lists. And yet fate played a trick on the formalists. It seems the lady engineer had a good year, for within a short time she received housing, a coupon for a new car, and had a husband in Yugoslavia to whom she then went, depriving the plant of both herself and the hard-fought perquisites.

--"So what? She worked here 11 years. She deserved it, and if her personal life turned out that way..." remarked the understanding personnel relations man. And the manager added sadly, "There are people like that..."

Who Receives Coupons

The shower of coupons for automobiles fell on the Swierczewski plant two years ago, when the plants celebrated their anniversary. About 40 coupons, on an average, are received each year, but some must also be relinquished to the other factories in the complex. And so 40 automobiles are allotted to not 5,000 workers, but 15,000. The factory usually receives the coupons on Metalworkers' Day, anniversaries, and special occasions. This is a prize, but it is a prize that anyone can compete for by applying to the manager or to the plant council. The council now has over 700 applications. No one knows when they will be granted, if at all. There is talk that the coupons

will be eliminated. The granting of coupons is as follows: the division activists are informed about the coupons and they choose two or three candidates, taking into account their seniority on the job, their commitment, and their value to the plant. This is then discussed with the plant council, the management, and the party organization. The suggested list is then presented to the workers' self-government for confirmation and then is posted.

--"Nothing is secret. Everything is thoroughly discussed. The nominations all come from the bottom."

--"Can't the coupons be allocated simply in the order in which the application was filed?", I ask.

--"No, this is impossible. This would also be unfair. Someone would get a coupon only because he applied 15 minutes before someone else. Also, circumstances change, people resign. No, it would not be a good idea."

--" Who receives coupons?"

--"Workers, journeymen, managers. The management needs automobiles for official use. And they must be replaced every two years."

Last August's list contains 17 names--16 received the small Fiat. The only Polonez went to the chairman of the plant council.

During the last four years, Stomil received four coupons for a small Fiat, and the manager really had to fight for them. There were none before that and no one knows whether there will be any more. In allocating them, the number of years worked, the worker's value to the plant, his attitude, all were considered. Finally, lots had to be drawn for there were many who were eligible and there was only one automobile. As I said before, lady luck smiled on the lady engineer... Two years ago it smiled on today's council chairman, who has been in the plant 25 years, is really active in social affairs and is popular and well-liked.

--"You know, somehow I always knew how to talk to these people and they elected me because they expect big things from me. And yet I'm afraid that I may not be able to do anything for them and then they'll be disappointed".

Last year at the Swierczewski plant there was one more choice morsel: garden plots, for the first time in years. There were many takers. As many as 300 plots could have been distributed if they had been in locations accessible by public transportation. But only 55 were made available, and those were in Janki, near the Sekocinski Forest in Slomin. It can be reached only by PKS /Polish Motor Transport/ or private automobile. The plant must pay 60,000 zlotys for a plot, put in the drainage, level it, and fence it, all from the social fund. The person who receives it pays 10 percent, i.e., 6,000 zlotys, to the plot fund which is administered by the garden management. The plot remains the property of the plant, but that which is on it belongs to its user.

The social services committee collected applications, then selection began. First priority went to those who had worked in the plant for 20 years or where several family members worked at Swierczewski. The workers' self-government confirmed these selections and the lists were posted.

More plots could have been gotten but they were even farther away, which meant that they would have had to be distributed to those who had automobiles. This is very expensive and is a heavy burden on the fund. Some thought had been given to recreational plots, for summer cottages. But in the end this was not done so there was no problem in allocation.

When I say that probably only higher-level white-collar workers would be interested in this, my statements are hotly protested--"it is the workers who often have the cottages and are most interested in this."

Is it Fair?

The matter of garden plots was considered at one time in Stomil, but the conclusion was that they could not be afforded.

--"Do we distribute fairly?", Antoni Kaluza, first secretary of the plant council at Swierczewski, asks. --"We try, but it is impossible to be completely fair, particularly when there is so little to distribute. Someone always feels cheated. But we try to distribute openly. We try to create an atmosphere of open criticism, we don't try to hide anything."

--"But do you know by which criteria housing, automobile coupons and garden plots were allotted to you, why you received precisely this number, no more and no less? And when you will again receive more?"

--"That I do not know. Nor do I know how much others receive. Personally, I am in favor of candidness. That would also be better for the people. But I cannot complain. They do care about us. Comrade Karkoszka personally looks after us."

--"They say in the city that you are indulged and are better off than the others."

--"Who says that? A fourth of our people have a secondary education. These are qualified workers, our best cadres. They cannot be compared with those who simply pound with a hammer. They work at developing themselves. As a party organization, we free their aspirations. We want the people to be integrated with the plant and share in its management. We are able to do this."

There are many automobiles in the factory parking lot. It is clean and orderly all around. The entranceway into the administration building is attractive. A complete branch of Metalexport operates on-site--Swierczewski is a large exporter. The workers with whom we spoke truly are not pick-and-shovel people.

--"The allocation of housing is unfair," says one of them. "How is it that a woman who works five years gets a house, while I who work 14 years, have four people in a nine-square-meter apartment, don't get one? Does she produce more than I?"

--"Why didn't you protest?", I ask. "The lists were posted. The allocations are open discussed in the departments."

--"How could I protest when I learned about it after it happened? Anyway, I'm not going to jeopardize my chances or I'll never get anything."

All of those with whom I talked feel the same way. They don't like it. They don't believe the allocations are made fairly but they don't say anything. They look at me with scorn when I try to convince them they are not being threatened--there are plenty of jobs.

--"But somewhere else it may be the same", says one resolute young metalworker, who feels that it is better to work here, where he has become accustomed, although he has nothing to say about it.

Of the young group with whom I talked, none will take advantage of the plant vacations for they aren't available at a time suitable to them, and they do not apply for reimbursement because most of the time they go somewhere else to vacation, privately. They do not eat in the plant cafeteria. They have not taken advantage of the loan for newlyweds (what good is a loan if you don't have a house?) and they aren't even aware that the plant will repay part of the loan for some of them. None of them have applied for an automobile or for housing, because they don't believe they'd get either, even though one of them is 30 years old, has two children, has worked in the plant 15 years, and lives with his in-laws. One of them is a member of the ZSMP, applied for an apartment in a building sponsored by the ZSMP, but didn't get it.

They say that the managers and activists get the automobiles. --"The manager gets a new car every two years and someone else doesn't get one even once during his lifetime". And on the whole they all agree that it would be better is there were one waiting list for the cooperative for housing and one registration list for automobiles. At least then a person would wait and know that eventually he would get it and that would be fair. The plant allocations are not fair.

The older workers with whom I talked said exactly the same thing, in the same words. They said that they, too, do not take advantage of the vacations, don't eat in the cafeteria, and they don't even go to the plant council for it upsets them. To obtain reimbursement of costs from a vacation trip means filing an application and then pleading. And still they are entitled to this reimbursement. Plant buses stand idle and rust instead of taking people to the vacation areas. On the whole, vacations are expensive and so are summer camps. And why are they charged a climate fee?

Why aren't they refunded what they are entitled to for vacations, if they go only once in 10 years? This is their own hard-earned money!

None of them have received an automobile or an apartment. Only managers and secretaries get automobiles. In their department the secretary and the manager got automobiles, but the manager has worked there the longest so he deserved it.

They don't even know what is available for allocation because nobody tells them. They learn about trips abroad only after the list of travelers is posted. They learned about the garden plots too late also, but here one of them interrupts to say that he saw the announcement beforehand. Well, perhaps, but no one got a plot.

Is everything out in the open? Perhaps among the activists, but little of the information reaches the workers. Everything seems to take place on the other floors. "Between the seventh and the first", they laugh, having the administration building in mind.

But we met one person who thinks otherwise. He believes that the allocations are fair, that the decisions are discussed. He takes the vacations although they are expensive and should be priced differently. Recently he received an automobile. He is a foreman, a party activist, and he has been a delegate. He does not agree that only party members get automobiles. There is a machinist in his department, who is not a party member, who also got one. So this is not true. A fellow worker eating with him agrees.

A middle-aged woman, asked what she thinks about these matters, replies, "I don't get involved at all. I have an apartment, I had an automobile before I came here and I don't take vacations. I'm not interested in any of this".

Who is Right?

A young women runs home to prepare dinner after eight hours at a milling machine. For lunch she brings a sandwich. She doesn't go to the cafeteria because it costs too much and her own cooking is always better. She's been promised a vacation, along with her child, in June and she believes she'll get it. She's new here.

Both sides are absolutely sure they are right. Those doing the allocating are sure that they are doing the best they can and doing it as openly as possible. The ordinary workers believe that the allocations are being made poorly and what's more, that they have little influence on this. I cannot say that they are the ones who are right. I only know that awareness is also a social fact. The belief that goods, not just those that are particularly sought, but the very commonplace ones, are available mostly to managers and activists, is quite prevalent. Someone asked me, "Well, all right, but why shouldn't the social activist, a person who gives more of

himself than others, get these things?" It's hard to answer. The value of social work has changed. At one time, the reward was personal respect and recognition, but now the rewards are more calculable.

Should the president of the plant council get a coupon for a Polonez car? I don't know--maybe he deserves it most. The old rule of conduct dictated that all such privileges should be forfeited during a term of office. Today this is an anachronism. Is is that the ordinary man cannot accept these new rules, cannot cope with the spirit of how things are done today, or is it simply envy?

This entire confusion in moral criteria stems from the lack of goods. We would not want to see money determine who gets what. We did not expect, I believe, that as a result,who has what will often be determined by who has access, who has the connections and can make the arrangements. It is sad, but true, that in the eyes of some people, one of these arrangements is demonstrated social activity. That is the basis for allocations: we and they. It is not necessary to persuade anyone how harmful this allocation is to everyone.

I have no prescription on how to reverse all of this today. Without a doubt, real openness and clear criteria, from top to bottom, so that everyone knows not only why X and not Y received an automobile but on what basis this plant got this many and that one got so many, and what did it do with them, this would be a large step forward. Even more proper, it seems to me, would be the suggestion of the Świerczewski workers--that the scarce goods be obtained simply in turn: housing at the cooperatives, automobiles by application at Polmozbyt /Polish Motor Sales/, with no exceptions. No one objected to waiting for a car after he had paid in advance, for he knew that he would be sure to get it. There is, of course, a more drastic and perhaps a more efficient method--applying supply and demand prices to scarce goods. I hesitate with this suggestion, however, because I fear we may go too far. But unquestionably there is an urgent need to verify the principles of allocation so that they will not offend the sense of fairness and be more widely understood.

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CATHOLIC PAPER SEES WEST WEAKENED BY LOSS OF VALUES

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 19, 11 May 80 pp 1,7

[Article by Andrzej Micewski: "Oh, This West"]

[Excerpts] This title is neither an excalamation of admiration nor of aversion for the West. Rather, it expresses a certain feeling of helplessness on the part of the external observer who would like to understand the state in which the part of the world, which is so fasincating to someone outside it, finds itself. Actually, the West is conscious of all its weaknesses and unceremoniously uncovers them. That is why I borrowed my title from a short but excellent article, written by Johannes Gross, which appeared in FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG on 3 April 1980. Gross, without any obfuscation, states that:

"If someone considers the state of the Western world in the spring of 1980, then, of course, he notices the symptoms of a decline whose causes are not easy to determine. Apart from the cartel prices of petroleum, everything seems to be developing normally in economic terms.... Political institutions function in accordance with the principles foreseen for them. A stability of sorts is dominant, although it is not the main slogan everywhere, as it is among us (in the FRG--A.M.). Everything remains as it was previously, but at the same time everything looks different.

"The political formula of the West, known to us since the 1950's, has ceased to exist. NATO still exists, and it is even commencing to implement a decision to upgrade armaments. Numerous organizations exist which were created to direct the economy of the Western world. All of this, however, seems to be lacking bases for action and convictions that we belong to the same community of fates and interests, that we are linked by a joint policy, and that we are heading toward joint goals for the future of this part of the globe...."

Statements of such pessimism are not an exception in the Western press. More and more of them are appearing in almost all Western European countries, to say nothing of the United States, which is shocked by the lack of solidarity on the part of its allies. The matter is, at bottom, simple, and we

have already written about in it TYGODNIK. The conflicts breaking out in various parts of the world are revealing rather far-reaching divergences between the interests of the various Western countries. At the same time, however, everything remains as it has always been, because the major division of the world is along the line separating the two separate systemic and politico-military blocs. It is impossible, however, not to notice that the line of division which, both formally and in fact, is the most important and which is the result of World War II, is unavoidably, by reason of the duration of its existence and the international rivalry accompanying it, leading to successive changes and realignments. History never stands in place and every political status quo generally lasts as long as the balance of power which created it. Actually, balance of power has become a sort of deity of world politics in the current apocalyptic, because nuclear, epoch.

The West certainly understands that the maintenance of a balance is the decisive issue for the future of the world. Sinking in its wealth and in comfortable living, however, it does not want to renounce anything on behalf of, for instance, the Third World. Actually, I suppose that what I am dealing with here is not merely the proverbial practical materialism of Western civilization, but the loss, associated with this materialism, of a system of values. When, after a certain degree of freedom has been attained, imaginings about its further development are tied to a demand for the right to kill oneself slowly with narcotics or to commit suicide in general; when the lack of a feeling of purpose and sense in life in a welfare society gives birth to strivings to destroy that very society by acts of blind terror; when, in short, one can work fruitfully, but there is nothing in the realm of ideals for which to fight; then people and societies fall into complete relativism. In fact, there is something for which to fight in the world, because almost all contemporary threats have a global character. The hunger of the millions-strong masses of the Third World must ultimately bring negative consequences also for the rich Western countries. Every act of violence or aggression in the world potentially endangers us all. The people of the West basically know this well. Hence the panics in the markets and the unusual jumps in the price of the noble metals. Politicans have also come to understand much. They know, for example, that it is better to invest capital in the Third World than eternally to bring in "gastarbeiters." But, because no one of the natives in West Germany, for example wants to undertake certain difficult or "dirty" jobs, workers from poor countries continue to flow there. There are already over 1.7 million Turks in the FRG, and soon there will be still more. The problem of minority rights or of civic rights will rise per [?] Peoples not subject to assimilation, such as the Turks, will strive for minority rights, while those who work for a given society and do not want to be second category persons within it, will strive for civil rights.

The numerous American defeats in the post-war period, the Vietnam disaster, the psychological consequences of the Watergate affair, and finally the evident helplessness of the Carter team in dealing with Khomeini, and also the doubts about both the current government of the USA and its potential

alternative in the autumn elections turn the eyes of the governments of many West European governments in the direction of the USSR. We ought not to expect that the appearances of the unity of the Western world will simply disappear on a certain day, but we must realize that we are the witnesses of an international development as a result of which we deal more frequently with the appearances than with the reality of Western political unity. As with every political fact, we ought to look at this one dispassionately, since what is of decisive importance here is not already accomplished facts, but the deeper underlying causes. In the case being discussed here, what is important is the lack of a common system of values which would have greater weight than geopolitical conditions or local interests. The aforementioned Johannes Gross also criticizes the West European governments for hiding behind the double strategy of "NATO plus detente," "or also the reverse," and states that "Western Europe is approaching a political quasi-neutrality between the superpowers." The author thinks that "the word 'Finlandization,' so willingly used in this contest, leads one into error and that the hidden tendency of West European policy would be much better expressed by the word 'Swedenization.'" One way or another, we have to deal with a tendency toward the partial neutralization of Western Europe, but I emphasize that we are talking about a tendency, not about a factual state which is the result of an already completed international process. Such development can be accelerated, weakened, or even stopped, depending primarily upon the policy of the great powers and the result of uncountable peripheral conflicts and events which, as I said, influence the affairs of the entire globe in the nuclear epoch.

The West's relativism and lack of self-assurance result not only from the disquieting perturbations of the contemporary world, and not only from the lack of an unequivocal assessment of modern history. No less anxiety and uncertainty is caused by doubts in futurology, which celebrated great triumphs in recent years. This is because it turned out that all allegedly scientific systems of prognostication and prediction of the future have failed.

In the West it is believed that the unexpected political and social events and untypical development trends of social systems constitute the main obstacles to effective prognostication. The fallibility of prediction in the area of politics does, naturally, have deeper roots which result from the individuality and will of people. One academic formulated this in the following words: "Sometimes heroes are created during the course of one night by the acts of will of people who need heroes." It is difficult to deny this when one sees the unceasing coups in the countries of the Third World. But in Europe also we have been witnesses to the return of democratic trends after a long period of authoritarian dictatorships in Spain and Portugal and after a shorter period in Greece. Academics are, however, aware that normal democratic trends are also being interfered with by authoritarian coups. Another example is the events in Iran, which no one, neither futurologists nor intelligence agencies, foresaw, although all knew that the Shah's regime was based on force. Basically, the typical thing in the political development of the world is its untypicalness.

Prognostication always ends where man's new thoughts, will, and action begin and create new systemic principles. If, therefore, futurology is not to be reduced to the status of ancient oracles, it ought to encompass only relatively short periods and ought to be treated as an auxiliary factor, rather than the deciding one, in establishing the directions of development of political and economic life. Many academics are inclined to treat futurology simply as an intellectual sport, a conditional training of the brain of sorts, which is not, however, able to lead to foreknowledge of the future. The story of the first report of the so-called Club of Rome in large measure confirms this conviction. In response to this, prognostication based on assumption, according to the "If..., then...." formula, has appeared. Hence also the growing doubts in futurology and the conviction that it is human will and the real desire of the masses which has decisive significance. In order to want, however, one must have some faith.

And here we return again to the opening motif of our reflections. Man gains happiness neither through well-being nor even through wealth, when he does not have a clear picture and a certain vision of the future. For happiness and psychological balance possession of a system of values resulting from beliefs or convictions is necessary. Only a system of values gives man some support and permits him to rationalize his strivings and to feel a purpose and a sense in life. Hence the success both in the West and also outside the West of the Pope from Poland, who presents to a lost world very simple principles of truth, love, freedom, and the ultimate goal of man. This has not, naturally, precluded debates by the Western theological elites over the problem whether John Paul II is insufficiently progressive or too conservative. Actually, these debates do not seem to be to be too scandalous or unexpected. Every new Pope comes with the baggage of his own experiences and conditioning. But the phenomenon of the current pontificate is the fact that Pope Wojtyla has struck the deepest and most important human yearning. This can be seen very visibly, even in that West which is proverbially "indifferent" ideologically and professes "moral relativism."

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CHRISTIAN BAPTISTS HOLD SYNOD, NEW OFFICIALS ELECTED

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 19 May 80 p 2

[Text] The XXIV Synod of the Polish Christian Baptist Church deliberated in Warsaw from 8 to 11 May 1980 under the slogan, "Weak...but Strong in Christ." There were 91 delegates who participated in the Synod from 55 [Christian Baptist] communities in Poland as well as guests from abroad: Stanislaw Svec, vice president of the European Federation of Baptists; Dr Denton Lotz, representative of the Northern Convention of Baptists for Eastern Europe, and also Dr Helen Griffin, secretary of the Foreign Mission of this Convention.

A report on the activities of the Supreme Council of the [Christian Baptist] Church was given by its president to date, Rev Michael Stankiewicz, who is also vice president of the European Federation of Baptists.

Two addresses were given: "The tasks of the reborn man in the world" by Rev Krystian Ber (from Malbork) and the program address: "Weak...but Strong in Christ" by Rev Aleksander Kircun, [Church] junior (from Wroclaw).

During the deliberations, the current issues of the community of Baptists in Poland were discussed and new authorities in the Church Supreme Council for the forthcoming five-year term were elected.

The Rev Piotr Dajludzionek (from Bialystok) was elected as president of the Supreme Council of the Polish Christian Baptist Church, Rev Adam Piasecki (from Warsaw) as vice president, Rev M. Stankiewicz (from Warsaw) as secretary, and Rev Stefan Rogaczewski (from Katowice) as treasurer. The following are the new members of the Supreme Council: Rev A. Kircun [Church] junior [from Wroclaw], Rev Tadeusz Kalisz (from Gorzow Wielkopolski), and Rev Konstanty Wiazowski (from Warsaw).

The participants in the deliberations received with satisfaction the notification about the endorsement by Minister Jerzy Kuberski, director of the Office for Religious Affairs, of the updated statute of the Polish Christian Baptist Church (PKChB).

An evangelical service held in the chapel of the church on Walicow Street 25, conducted by Rev M. Stankiewicz, concluded the Synod.

The members of the Church Supreme Council were received in the Office for Religious Affairs by deputy director Tadeusz Dusik on 12 May 1980.

CSO: 2600

HOW HUNGARIAN ECONOMY COPES WITH DIFFICULTIES EXAMINED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 19, 10 May 80 p 11

[Article by Andrzej Mozolowski: "How Do They Do It?"]

> [Text] Banfi hajszesz, a marvelous liquid to make hair grow, at 58 forints a bottle (they are asking 700 zlotys for it in Poland on the free market) fills the displays and shelves in Budapest stores. Not many people buy it. The tourists have no idea what it is or taken a fancy for it, and the Hungarians either do not become bald or are not convinced of its efficacy. In general the displays and shelves of Hungarian retail outlets are full as they have been for a long time, and as has been true for a long time these outlets create jealousy among many visitors, and what is more, suprise too, because the Hungarian economy is going through very great difficulties, ones similar to ours in the Polish economy and those of other socialist countries. There is just this difference: somehow in Hungarian shops this fact is not visible. But is this the only difference? And how does this happen?

Grave difficulties are coming mainly from the world raw-materials and energy crisis and world inflation. They are inflicting painful pressures on the Hungarian economy, more sensitive to market situations than any other socialist country: half of the country's national income is produced as the result of export production, and half of its commodity exchange is is in trade with the West.

Alongside external causes there are also Hungary's own deficiencies. Nobody hides them. On the contrary, Hungarian politicans and activists are severe in their assessment of the condition of the economy. They speak less about their successes -- after all, there is no lack of them -- and talk more about their failures, because this gives rise to action.

A great deal is also written and said about weaknesses in work discipline which strongly undercut productivity and at the same time create glaring imblances in income. A typical example is the story about the laying of the sidewalk next to a new building. It was written up in the weekly ELET ES IRODALOM. It was done on a moonlight basis from beginning to end and was paid for by desparate residents. On the sly, once the warehouseman had been paid, sidewalk slabs were taken out of the warehouse (at a crooked fee, of course), and then an agreement was made on the sly to get a work brigade from the building, along with their own cement, gravel, pneumatic drill, and so on. The sidewalk, which they would have had to wait for a year or more otherwise, was put down in record time, in a day. The author of the article includes other jobs full of crooked dealings: plumbing, painting, installing panelling, and so on, in which workers perform in a day not much less than they do in a month in the "regular" jobs. He draws Cassandra-like pictures: "Gradually everybody will want to have a permanent job and treat it like something on the side. This will be necessary, because on this job it will be possible to rest after having performed hard work on the sly..."

Now we are all too familiar with this phenomenon. The shortage of labor, the underdevelopment of services, and so on create conditions which favor demoralization, regardless of geographic size. Under-the-counter sales is not an unknown phenomenon here either, and we read in the press about practices where it pays: the salespersons, the physicians (which is universal), insurance agents, driving instructors, and so on.

They Seem to Have an Uphill Struggle...

I am writing about these bad and in any case shameful phenomena by no means in order to make us feel better. That would not be nice. I want to show that Hungary is not isolated from the economic and social problems which are shared all over the world, that our brothers the Hungarians have the same sorts of problems that we face. I am also writing so that there will be a stronger contrast between difficulties which are exerting pressure on the Hungarian economy and the nearly ideal life of the Hungarian consumer, who shops in stores full of goods, served politely and quickly, a consumer who, does not need to go shopping everyday, if he does not want to, because he can order by telephone and receive weekly deliveries of all food items, as well as everyday industrial products sold in the ABC super markets. Thus, let this correspondence be an attempt to answer the question frequently asked: "It would seem tha they are waging an uphill battle, but they can get everything. How do they do it?"

Is it really true that you can buy everything without difficulty? Not entirely. The Hungarians complain of a shortage of colonial products (during my stay instant coffee was not available in the stores at all). There are periodic shortages of leather goods, rugs, some furniture, and there are not many automotive items, implements, what are called metal sundries, or television sets. You have to wait about 5 years for a car, a Lada, Skoda, or Wartburg (this year there are 324,000 on the waiting list).

At a recent exhibit displaying designs awaiting a producer, commerce showed more than 1,300 items in short supply. Imports have also declined very greatly. Stores no longer show such a wide selection of Western cosmetics, woolens, or shoes as they did at one time.

Nevertheless, despite all this the resources of supply for these shops and department stores are undeniable, and daily shopping is a great chore.

Up until recently this did not surprise anyone. Agriculture was very good (Hungarians never had any doubts that strong agriculture meant a strong economy and a strong market). Industry was efficient. Foreign trade was dynamic. All this fit the good supply to the stores. But today?

Salami: 200 Forints

Today an economic reform is going on. Begun in 1968 it took an important turn a year ago. Perhaps readers remember that a year ago Aleksander Paszynski wrote about this in his article "On a Curve" (POLITYKA 4/79). Now it is on this curve even more deeply, sharply, and decidedly. I am not going to explain of what it consists. Two weeks ago Szymon Jakubowicz gave precise details concerning it ("Hungarian Experience," POLITYKA, No 17). I shall just mention that the basic element of the new system is to make domestic prices approximate manufacturing costs and therefore, world prices. This means among other things a decided departure from state budget subsidies for goodssold below real costs, changes in the structure of prices, and, along with this, fundamental rises in prices. There was a great rise last July. Another one this January, and a host of smaller ones clearly stated or, like recently, basically only suggested.

What does this mean in concrete terms? It means that salami, which cost 100 forints back in 1975, now costs 200. Pork loin rose during that time, more than doubling to 80 forints. Carp costs just about as much as pork loin, 70 forints a kilo. The rise of 23 July 1979 included 2,000 items. Foodstuffs showed an average price increase of 20 percent, and in this group, meat increased 30 percent. There was a rise in the prices of milk, flour, bread, sugar, and oils and fats. Coal rose by one-third. Electricity increased by one-half. The rise for laundry and shoe-repair services was not much less. There was an increase in the prices of footwear and all other leather goods (20-25 percent), building materials, furniture, movie and theater tickets, and so on, and so forth. As the result of this rise, prices increased by about 29 billion forints in the course of a year. This is more or less 10 percent of the value of all the goods sold during this period.

At the same time catering became more expensive, and so did services.

The price rise was compensated for by a fixed 180-forint supplement to paychecks, plus 120 for each child.

Of course, successive price regulation does not consist solely of price increases. This year, the national pricing and supply agency states that there will be an increase (part of it has already taken place) in the prices on wool fabrics, leather footwear, linen and underwear, metal goods, flatware, aluminum cookware, automatic washers, greases, fertilizers, farm machinery, writing articles (and a host of others), and that there will be a reduction, on the other hand, in many other prices: clothing, knitwear, pantyhose, synthetic furs, black-and-white television sets, toys, and so on. After all, it is a question of not only maintaining market balance but also, and even mainly, as I recall, of adapting the structure of domestic prices to world prices. At the same time, it was the intention of the legislators, by making prices more realistic, to prevent waste, to cause thrifty consumption. And this is true: before the increase, when a kilogram of bread cost 3.60 forints, which was just exactly what it cost 30 years ago, about 150,000 tons were thrown into the garbage cans each year! At present, at 5.40 forints a kilo it is rare that you can see a piece of bread in the garbage can. Or, take coffee: Hungarians consume an amazing quantity, making it necessary to import 25,000 tons per year. This is 26 kilograms per capita, including infants! Hence, the price of coffee sold at retail was increased by half, and at the same time: "Look at that expresso machine he bought," one of my Hungarian friends tells me. "The amount of coffee it takes in relation to the amount of water in comparison to the old production is half, don't you see?" It takes half as much coffee to make four doppios." "But the coffee is also worse..." "Well, we're saving. But I put in half as much water."

Monte Carlo Is Hidden

How are the Hungarians taking this operation, which after all is a painful one? You probably do not need an answer to the question. On the other hand it must be added that good propaganda is helping them. In the party documents, in the statements by the economists and men of state, and in the editorials there is a constant explanation of the need and purposes of the pricing policy. The country's economic situation and its difficulties are described without hedging. It is explained that the economic success for the near future will be not a rise in the standard of living but keeping it at the same level with no reductions. They show the way the price system is part of the whole mechanism of economic reform, how it is related to the wage policy, social policy, labor productivity, insuring full market equilibrium, and so on. It shows that only such action can lead the Hungarian economy onto a straightway and put it among the highly developed countries of Europe. The theoretician of the reform, Bella Cikow Nagy, stated in one of his speeches that in a few years the forint should become an exchangeable currency. It is characteristic that today the difference between the official exchange rate and the black-market rate for the dollar is slight, amounting to only a few forints. ("What does this depend upon?" I ask. "On making prices close to costs, on the level of the market supply," they tell me. This simply means covering the forint with goods.)

But let us go back to the Hungarians' response to the rise in prices. Without any doubt they have made people more thrifty in their shopping, especially since while poor supplying of shops gives rise to waste, a good market inclines people to rational consumption, because alongside carp, cleaned and cut in the customer's presence on the spot at 70 forints a kilo, you can buy just the heads for fish soup at one-quarter the price. Alongside cleaned chickens (Hungary is one of the major European producers of poultry, as well as fresh-water fish), you can also get gizzards and other giblets, as well as chicken feet (for bouillon) at a few forints a kilogram. They buy cold cuts for 5-20 a dekogram, to keep them from drying out. If a customer wants a kilogram of salami, you know it is a Pole. If he wants 2 kilograms, it is probably an Austrian (Austrians love to go to Hungary, even for a weekend. A half million of them come each year, and they buy it all up quickly, because for them things are cheap. After all, one of the arguments to explain the rise in prices which were previously heavily subsidized for foodstuffs was: "Do we have to pay extra so that 17 million tourists can eat us out of house and home?! If they want to spend money here, let them instead build a gaming casino and hide Monte Casino," and they are building.)

The Hungarians like to eat. They say: "For 40 years the Hungarian made his stomach suffer. Then the stomach started to make the Hungarian suffer." Most of all they love to go to restaurants, bars, eateries, and inns where they serve something good to eat, better something to drink, where they serve well, and charge very little. This small amount has risen, because there have been great increases in restaurant prices. And here the Hungarians did not hold their peace. They got mad at the restaurants and stopped going. For 3 months there was a war of nerves, after which the trade people gave in: "No? All right then." They reduced the prices on most dishes (although of course not to the previous level, because the kitchen raw materials had increased considerably in price), made up for their generosity by raising the prices on drinks, and to this time there is detente, while the csardas places and restaurants are full the way they used to be.

Good Market

It is clear, the reason for the existence of a good market in Hungary is not just that there has been an increase in prices. True, they (plus severe wage discipline) provide for full market balance and create conditions for improving service to customers, but alongside this there is also a good trade machinery which operate efficiently.

And it is true that it has not missed the investment cuts but it still accounts for 3.5 percent of all investments. It faces the problem of a shortage of people and delays in the completion of buildings. ("Don't they like to put up commercial buildings in your country either?" I ask the director of the investment department of the trade ministry. "Hell, they don't like to build anything.") They have a tenth of the difficulties well known to us, but they usually come out ahead on them.

If I had to sum up the essence of Hungarian trade as briefly as possible, I would say: modernity and competitiveness.

I looked at the warehouses of Mobil, the wholesaler for the automotive sector. Between containers which go up several floors there are corridors of computer-controlled lifts. The work of the warehouseman boils down to dialing in the right code on a dial of the sort used on a telephone, to be faced a moment later with a container filled with the desired parts or accessories. You always know how much there is of something, although you do not know where, but that does not matter: the lift puts it right under your nose. Lightening fast loading and unloading. Uninterrupted deliveries to the stores. The warehouse is the basis of the work of trade. For show? Of course. There are not many of that sort in Budapest yet, but I know countries in which neither trade nor even industry could show anything like that.

Competition: the food cooperatives have built themselves jointly (200 participants) a large, marvelously modern store, called "Skala." People come halfway across Budapest to shop there. State trade could not stand it, and built "Florian," which is just the same with 20,000 square meters, but it claims to be still more modern and combines a store with a purchasing center which includes 22 trade and service enterprises, a post office, and similar facilities. This "Skala" has a group of cooperative stores, called "Skala Coop." Now four similar supermarkets are being built jointly. State trade answers this with: "And we have six like 'Florian'! In Budapest alone." "Skala" has a tremendous food department, with fruits and vegetables too. Opposite they have built a large, three-storey market hall in which agricultural producers, socialized or not, sell thir crops.

"And look what we've done," says director Bogner Bela, showing a row of open stalls with fruits and vegetables outside all along the building. Now "Skala's" green groceries just about come in contact with those of the competition, which also has dozens of stands and booths outside. Only the line of pedestrians separates the two.

"A monopoly creates bad work," I hear in the ministry. "And this goes not just for trade. In our country there is competition for buyers among the largest producers, even producers of television sets, with 'Orion' competing with 'Video.' And in trade, this is absolutely necessary."

But when the reader comes to Budapest and wonders whether to go to "Skala" or "Florian," he should remember what somebody running the last above-mentioned store whispered to me as an aside: "In 'Skala' they deliver the bread only four times a day. We get seven deliveries. Of course, when the transportation breaks down, we only get six..."

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ARGUMENTS AGAINST 'ECONOMIC MECHANISM' SEEN AS UNCONVINCING

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 13, 29 Mar 80 p 6

[Article by Andrzej Mozolowski]

Mr Adam Skowronski from Poznan informs our editorial office that after a long search for a small drill bit in stores in several cities he was forced to purchase a set of four bits; he asserts that with the largest of these he would be able to drill clear through his bookcase and apartment wall to his neighbor's apartment. The manufacturer of these drills, the PROMAG Warehouse Equipment Production Company in Nowy Tomysl, packs them in plastic cases, labels them "Worm-threaded drill bits for wood, in a case," and sells them at 63 zlotys for each set. Mr Skowronski asks what point there is in selling drill bits in sets if they are not available for sale individually, and why he was forced to buy four drill bits, three of which he does not need; he asserts that this is an intolerable waste of steel, which is in short supply, and he ends with a subsequent question: "What does POLITYKA say to that?"

First, I will reciprocate with a description of my own trials and tribulations. Searching for a piece of electric wire, or cord, I finally had to buy, in exasperation--instead of a meter and a half of electric cord--a "Tinkerer's Set No 2," manufactured by the Bydgoszcz Electric Wire Factory and consisting of:

--2 m of apartment electric installation wire (OMYp);
--2 m of assembly conduit wire (TDy);
--2 m of television cable (TLy);
--10 m of microphone wire (YPMX ekip).

The whole set was packed in a plastic bag.

I paid 27 zlotys instead of 1.50 zlotys and, after cutting off the piece of wire that I needed (OMYp), I threw the remainder into a box in the basement where it is covered by dust and forgotten. The reader asks how many purchasers out of a hundred can need four drill bits at the same time, and exactly of these sizes. And how many purchasers can need at the same time five different kinds of electric wire: for an electric installation, for a television set,

for a microphone, and devil knows what else for, and, at that, precisely in the lengths which have been cut laboriously by the manufacturer? I will answer: not a single one.

From these examples it can be seen clearly how greatly the production effect can differ from the social effect. In the records of the manufacturing plant it has been noted: "four drill bits" (or: "18 m of various electric wires"); in reporting on the satisfaction of society's needs, if such reporting existed, it would have been entered: "one drill bit" (or: "a meter and a half of electric wire"). And the social cost of producing this drill bit (or electric wire) equals, obviously, the factory production costs of making four drills plus the case (or: 18 m of electric wire). And this occurs at a time when the answer not to the question "How much?" but "For how much?" is becoming the most important one for us.

Unfortunately for Whom

Searching for the causes of this phenomenon, we can easily exclude the possibility of excess employment in the above-mentioned plants which would make it necessary to find extra work for people in the form of dividing, matching and making up sets of products; likewise, we can exclude the possibility of excess packaging materials with which something has to be done. It is clear that selling any kind of sets under conditions of an unsaturated market on which the purchaser will buy everything because he has no choice, represents the most direct route to easily fulfilling the production-worth plans and multiplying the profits. This is done either by the method of shamelessly taking in the users, as in the case of said "tinkerer's set," with a clearly nonsensical assortment of objects, or in a more elegant and concealed fashion which has been sanctioned by rather sensible tradition. Let us take, for example, the ceramics industry, which with an ever greater zeal is producing sets of dishes, to the detriment of production "by the piece." As is well known, a set in which half of the dishes have been broken is not good for anything, and it is impossible to buy missing pieces; unfortunately, it is necessary to buy a new set. However, this "unfortunately" is only for the user, as well as for the national economy; the manufacturer's viewpoint happens to be entirely different: a new set of dishes is a new pattern, and glory and a bonus for the designers. Moreover, sets are richly decorated and gilded, and is this not much more profitable than the mass production of plain, inexpensive cups, saucers, etc? Last but not least is the fact that each new pattern for a set of dishes means a new, higher price, while the price of an unchanged pattern may not be raised...

Years ago, the Committee on Household Affairs began energetically to persuade the ceramics industry to design from ten to twenty plain, nice-looking sets--of a service type, and therefore complete, including cups, tureens, plates and saucers of various sizes, platters, gravy boats, sugar bowls, salt shakers, etc--and to produce them by the piece, so that they would be always available. The manufacturers, indeed, yielded and promised to do something,

and they even designed some new sets; the press published some laudatory articles...and that was the end of it. As before, broken and incomplete sets of dishes are pushed deep into cupboards or onto mezzanines, and new sets are bought to replace them. The stimulated, or rather extorted, demand for them is increasing far above rational needs; the overjoyed ceramics workers have reason to devote themselves even more to the production of sets: in the current decade this production has increased almost threefold, while the production of plates "by the piece" has increased a mere 70 percent.

Let us consider furniture: a set for 60 thousand zlotys, of one kind or another, can always be found in the store, but let someone try to furnish his dining room, living room, or any kind of room with furniture pieces sold individually...It is an empty dream. They are not being made.

Here, as always, there happen to be exceptions from time to time. The Wyszkow Furniture Factory used to manufacture a set called "Wariant" which was sold in single pieces, at moderate prices, rather against the factory's own interests, out of a so-called feeling of civic duty. It kept manufacturing, and then ceased to manufacture, because for the supplier of the veneer for this set of furniture it proved to be a task beyond endurance to produce the veneer in the same color for several years...

It happens likewise in other fields: if we want to replace rusted reflectors in the headlamps of a (small) Polish Fiat automobile, we have to buy complete headlamps; if the rubber parts of automobile windshield wipers wear out, we most often must buy complete new wipers; if the rubber hose of a bathroom heater cracks, we willy-nilly splurge on a whole new heater. We know it only too well.

The waste resulting from the prevalent fondness of manufacturers for production of sets amounts to billions of zlotys and to thousands of tons of totally useful products being thrown onto trash heaps; an enormous human work potential is irretrievably lost, and the results of such actions, visible in stores, drive people to uncontrollable rage.

Now It Is Possible to Prohibit...

One way of completely eliminating this phenomenon with the help of the so-called economic mechanism (a terribly fashionable term) is simple but temporarily still unattainable: complete saturation of the market. Giving the purchaser--both wholesale and retail--an opportunity to choose, which will ultimately result in a socially desirable proportion between the production "of sets" in any area and the production" of [individual] pieces" (or parts).

And until this happens?

The captains of industry are saying: it is absolutely necessary to have a change in the system of planning and management, and to create new, more efficient instruments which will induce the manufacturer to act rationally and to serve the interests of the customers.

Quite right. But do all the managers of our industry realize why their demands for greater self-dependence are meeting with such resistance? The crowning argument of their adversaries has always been the assertion that the more economized and parametric and the less centralized the system of management and planning is, the greater will be the discrepancy (under the conditions of an unsaturated market) between the interests of an industrial plant and the society's well-being. Every person representing such a view will say: "Now it is possible at least to prohibit, e.g., PROMAG, from packaging drill bits in sets and to order it to sell them exclusively as individual pieces--on the other hand, in the case of parametric management no power in the world would be able to induce it to do this...Consequently, it is necessary to postpone the changes in the system which will give economic units greater freedom, which would be restricted by economics rather than by prohibitions and restrictions, until the time that a balanced market is attained; otherwise, such improvements will do society more harm than good."

This reasoning is not very convincing and only apparently logical, and the arguments are debatable (they have been the subject of many polemics, too). Meanwhile, probably there is no doubt that our considerable and relatively modern economic production potential has outgrown the short coat of the old methods of management which restrains at present the further development of our economy and lowers the effectiveness of the financial investments in it. Consequently, there is no point in waiting "until things get better"; in order for things to get better, it is necessary to further improve the system. When this happens, the balanced market itself will be rejecting products--of the kind of said drills--which came into being as a result of the particular cleverness of the manufacturers; they will be producing in order to satisfy the demand and not just to "meet the set production goals."

The matter is becoming quite clear just now after the [Party] congress which, in principle, has already made a decision: by 1983 the whole economy is to function in accordance with the new systemic solutions. Consequently, we must now begin energetic preparations, carry out trials, and then implement the plans step by step. However, let us not deceive ourselves that this process will occur spontaneously. I wrote, "in principle, it has already made a decision," in practice, when it comes to working out concrete and detailed solutions, it will be necessary to overcome the traditional resistance and obsolete fears of many activities that the economy--in this transitional period--not nudged incessantly in the right directions by guidelines, will elude the grasp of the central planner; and that, as a result, on the market there will be (symbolically speaking) even more unneeded sets of drills and less of what the people need but what is convenient for the manufacturers to produce.

So far as one can believe, the elimination of these fears is in the realm of the possibilities of persons in charge of enterprises, industrial associations and government agencies; only if they prove that they can, independently of the system of planning and management, look beyond thier own narrow interests --even under the conditions of a scientific prohibition system. The matter is transferred from the area of economic motivations to the area of social motivations, or, as you like, of political consciousness. For it is not true, as some believe, that the first kind of motivation excludes the second, or, as others believe, that the first can exist without the second.

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POLITICAL ROLE OF MILITARY OFFICERS, CADRES STRESSED

Bucharest VIATA MILITARA in Romanian Apr 80 p 10

[Article by Major General Dr Ilie Ceausescu: "The Indestructible Links Between the Army and the People in Our Socialist Society"]

[Excerpts] According to the view that the defense of the country is a work and cause of the entire people, in any war of defense which might occur, the army will not fight alone but shoulder to shoulder with the other forces of the national defense system, in practice, with the armed popular masses. In this way, unity with the people becomes a factor of the greatest importance for raising the defense capability of the country, an impenetrable wall against the aggressor.

As a result of the undiminished attention of the party, the Romanian people has a well-equipped and well-instructed army, ready to do its duty at any time and has a complex national defense system which permits, if necessary, all resources of the nation to be put in the service of the repelling and liquidation of all aggression. The expansion of the forms of cooperation and common instruction of the military units with the patriotic guards and the detachments for the military training of the youth eloquently expresses the close collaboration between the army and the people for the defense of the country.

The participation of the military in the economic and social development of the country is having significant positive results in the continued strengthening of the ties between the army and the people. During the current five-year plan, for example, the military participated in the construction, expansion or modernization of 85 industrial projects; after a truly heroic effort members of the armed forces completed, by the end of 1979, one-half of the 40 km assigned to the military in the construction of the Danube-Black Sea Canal. Also the soldiers of the country are working on the Metro construction sites in Bucharest and on the construction of important socio-cultural projects and in the activity of modernizing and developing the means of communication. They have contributed to executing the irrigation system and to the harvest campaigns. As of 31 December 1979, some 300,000 hectares

of the 350,000 hectares assigned to the army in the 1976-1980 five-year plan were set up for irrigation.

As citizens with full rights, the military participate, together with the workers, in the resolution of problems which affect the present and future of socialist Romania. It is significant that, in accordance with the profound democracy which characterizes our society today, numerous military cadres belong to the central and local party and state organs: 12 generals and officers are members and candidate members of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, 17 are members of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and 131 are members of local party organs; 12 generals were recently elected deputies in the Grand National Assembly and 179 military cadres were elected deputies in the country, municipal, city and commune peoples councils.

Also, a large number of military men are active in mass and public organizations, in various civic councils and commissions. As a high-ranking school of political and revolutionary education of the youth, the army participates in the implementation of the ideological program of our party, in carrying out political and educational work among the workers. Many generals and officers act as lecturers for the Central Committee of the RCP and the local party organs. At the same time, party and state activists, journalists, men of science and culture are present, more and more, among the different categories of military men. They engage in authentic political and ideological dialogues and contribute to the development of an intense intellectual activity in the units and the commands.

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CRITIC EXPLAINS HIS 'POLEMICAL' ATTITUDE TOWARD WRITERS

Iasi CRONICA in Romanian 18 Apr 80 p 5

/Interview with Nicolae Manolescu by S. Zaharia/

/Text/ /Question/ Nicolae Manolescu, Sir, allow me to quote the following words in the nature of a definitive conclusion: "By virtue of the diligence with which he follows the literary phenomenon, the broad view in which he projects it, and his consistent conduct Nicolae Manolescu is the most important critic of our literature since the war." How do you "support" this truth or untruth?

/Answer/ It is not important that I believe Al. Dobrescu's judgment, but that he believed it when he made it. I do not doubt that he believed it. I merely mean that each of us critics is responsible for what he writes about others and not for what others write about him. Well, to return to the judgment, if I were convinced that that is so I would be a happy man! And since happy people do not feel the need to "manifest" themselves in criticism or in literature, happiness affecting them like a drug with a permanent effect and giving them a feeling of satisfaction they cannot shake off, I probably wouldn't write a line.

/Question/ You wrote a book about Sadoveanu ("Sadoveanu or the Book Utopia," 1976) which I consider based on a false idea and which does not interpret Sadoveanu's work in its fundamental nature. It is question of a bookish writer. I looked in the "Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language" and found this definition: "Based solely on information from books." Is Sadoveanu or is he not a writer based on book experience alone?"

/Answer/ I do not hope to change now in a few words an opinion of yours that my whole book failed to change. But I shall try to explain myself to you. What bothers me in the definition in Dex /"Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language"/ and in Larousse too (which I consulted in the hope that it would be more obliging, but no...) is the "solely." Of course neither Sadoveanu nor any writer ever relies solely on experience or information from books. You will agree with me that put that way, it is a false problem.

But my idea in "The Book Utopia" was different, namely that Sadoveanu is not purely and simply the magnificent evoker of man, nature and history whose image the critical studies have made familiar to us but actually a cultivated writer who refines direct experience with life through contact with books. In a great part of his work I was struck by a very complex process of the imagination, that is the way the world is reinvented, not based directly on the spectacle of reality, but through the intermediary of the spectacle of literature itself. Except for the first stories and novels, in which Sadoveanu is not yet Sadoveanu, all the others present us with a world through a literary medium. The writer's fantasy takes its subject matter from the Story, and we always find in him this primary Story wherein the real is already ordered by an idea and a meaning. Sadoveanu is not a "descriptive" writer. He belongs to the "ingenious" species. His imagination is like Scheherazade's and it is an evocation of the real. And in an inexhaustible and skillful way it also combines the forms of the Story to obtain new stories. Sadoveanu seeks out epic nuclei, themes of fables and facts of literature that will maintain his sacred game of story telling. Like Scheherazade, he would die if the voice of the Story were stilled in him. Can this mean that life is not in his work? It is life. The bookish is not opposed to life and it is not a dessication. It means something else, namely that however deeply we delve into Sadoveanu's Book, we always discover other books. I return to the "only" in Dex and say, in Tudor Topa's words in a recent ORIZONT about Scheherazade, the oldest and youngest sister of any story-teller, that "I think anyone who would try to separate her experience with life from literary experience and then try to unite what is united and inseparable would prove himself artless (impetuous) and would risk an inevitable peril."

/Question/ When my study of Sadoveanu was published in 1976, my first thought was to send you a copy, which I did with great pleasure. I was keenly interested in your opinion and that of two or three critics who had read Sadoveanu and knew who he is. You were silent. Did that mean that I and my study, as an interpretation and an opinion, were not accepted by the critics who viewed Sadoveanu otherwise? I thought your enthusiasm for Alexandru Paleologu's essay was excessive. I do not think essayist Alexandru Paleologu's view of Sadoveanu and the critical treatment he gave him are the right ones, but more suited to authors like W. Shakespeare, Lucian Blaga or Camil Petrescu. Do you still have your opinions of this book today?

/Answer/ I have rarely written about the studies of Sadoveanu in the last few years. After nearly a decade of work, all this became a closed subject for me. I had said what I had to say about him in "The Book Utopia." I was no longer a reviewer of any publications. I did not want to impose my views on anyone. I saw fit to let this prodigious (in its abundance after a long period of silence) critical literature about Sadoveanu proliferate. Any comment of mine would have looked like an attempt to assert my point of view. You yourself say, as one who has studied the subject, that you thought my idea of the author of "The Hatchet" was wrong. Are you certain that you are not misjudging me from an inevitably personal viewpoint? If I had written about your study to the effect that I think it is too conservative and contributes few new ideas beyond the traditional ones on the subject, wouldn't you have suspected me

of subjective obtuseness? For example, the fact that I agreed with Al. Paleologu on several essential opinions made me regard his study with an enthusiasm that I still have, and it restored my taste for an author whom I had not reread for several years.

/Question/ You were the first to write about the novel "The Annunciation" ("Nicolae Breban's 'The Annunciation' is an exceptional novel, concise, with broad satirical views, zestful, sarcastic, grotesque, and stylistically inexhaustible and original" — ROMANIA LITERARA, 16 June 1977). Do you think this work will eventually become a classic representative of a given historical period and will "resist" competitive evaluation?

/Answer/ Who knows which books the critics praise will become "classics"? I do not claim to be a soothsayer. But certainly I consider "The Annunciation" an exceptional novel and I expect, not without emotion, my judgment to be confirmed (or, alas, refuted) by time. What any critic of the present must do is bank on certain books. Lucky is the one who gives posterity only trumps! I cannot resume the discussion now of the ideas and style of Nicolae Breban's novel. They will be taken up in a book on the Romanian novel on which I am working and of which I have just finished a first volume. But I do not want to lose the opportunity just to outline the following point: There is a necessary tie between the style and the ideas of a novel. This seems a banality, but it should be repeated for those, who are many enough, who think style is a form (an even an optional one) for a given content that could have been expressed otherwise. Of course you know how ridiculous we find today the efforts of some contemporaries who have compiled lists of stylistic improprieties taken from the novels of Rebreanu and Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu. An expert on problems of style, Tudor Vianu, in analyzing Gib Mihaescu's "The Russian Woman" from this standpoint in "Art of Romanian Prose Writers," selects as examples of expressiveness a few actually beautiful sentences constructed like periods with an admirable cadence, but he seems not to observe that this kind of expression is unsuited to the one expressing himself in them, who is not the author but his character Ragaiac, a kind of blustering soldier with a hybrid culture. I think Gib Mihaescu errs in making his hero speak in the language of classical rhetoric of an Odobescu. The sentences praised by T. Vianu are Odobescian. The novelist had to let his character (The novel is written in the first person) speak in his language, and when he does so this inflated, "uncultivated" language, grotesque at points (which Pompiliu Constantinescu accused of bombasticism!), strikes us as quite natural. In "The Annunciation," even though the novel is written in the third person, the language is not the author's but that of the character, the semiliterate Grobei, and consequently a "Grobeized" language that seems perfectly suited to the character's image. How could Grobei have expressed himself elegantly and correctly? His language is a kitsch language, so to speak, because his background is one of kitsch. The novelist did well to leave his character the linguistic initiative.

Let us take another view of it. Grobei, like other characters of Nicolae Breban's, is a seducer of a breed apart. His method of seduction is not based upon "paying court" or arousing a pleasant feeling in him or her whom he is seducing but, on the contrary, upon creating a discomfort to the point of revulsion. This is something new and interesting. But note that this s[illegible]

style is very similar to that of the narrator himself, who also tries to seduce his readers not by catering to any reading habits but by shocking them and creating the discomfort we mentioned in the hero's case. Whoever would expect a novel like "The Annunciation" to employ a language purged of ungrammatical ugliness would prove he has what G. Calinescu called, in reference to poetry, a sanitary conception of the Romanian language (in general). In style, ugly and beautiful are relative concepts. It is stupid to classify poets or prose writers by such criteria: Mateiu Caragiale writes beautifully and Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu's writing is ugly. Their style is organic and springs from the inner view. I think the style of "The Annunciation" is organic and therefore the only one suited to the characters, namely neither beautiful nor ugly but appropriate.

/Question/ You are an unprejudiced critic, cutting in your replies, unbearable, with a pronounced polemic spirit, and contemptuous of mediocrity and lack of originality. Since the Eugen Barbu Case appears to be "quashed," please give us your conclusions on this brief, but not what we know from the published review (See "Rule of the Game," ROMANIA LITERARA, 11 January 1979) but from the viewpoint of today.

/Answer/ I have nothing to add. For me, the viewpoint of today (as you say) is no different from that of yesterday. And it is no fault of mine if a regrettable literary fact resulted in a "case" and a "brief." The only permissible passion in such discussions is the passion for the truth. I think it is pointless to "attack" or "defend" E. Barbu. If he had admitted that for one reason or another he used a procedure prohibited by the very standards of our craft, the whole thing would have stopped there. The attempt to justify it was just as serious an error as the use of the procedure as such.

/Question/ You have quarreled more than once with M. Ungheanu. What were the real reasons for this quarrel? In regularly following the book reviews in a journal as prestigious as ROMANIA LITERARA I was surprised by one fact: Why do you not discuss Ion Lancranjan's novels? As far as I know, you have not written anything about this author since "The Cordovans" /Cordovanii/. What would be the real reason for such an attitude, since you are an authoritative literary reviewer of whom the world expects a value judgment concerning this writer with a great public success but very unfavorable reviews.

/Answer/ You want to extort some real causes or reasons from me as if I had ever maintained anything that could be considered an untrue cause or reason or a mere pretext. As far as I am concerned, I am not in the habit of resorting to pretexts, nor is there any secret. And even a reviewer who writes regularly can write or not write about an author. If I had not quarreled with M. Ungheanu and wrote about I. Lancranjan instead, the question could have been reversed but the answer would be the same. I would have been embarrassed if you had asked me, let us say, why I did not write about L. Rebreanu. But I do not have a guilty conscience for having ignored the author of "The Son of Drought."

/Question/ You conduct a literary circle at Bucharest University. Have you yet discoved a name that will last, that will be promoted in 1980?

/Answer/ The Monthly Circle has had the opportunity to promote students very gifted for poetry. A circle is a workshop in which one works with the client's material. The role of the head of it is confined to the style /croiala/, although even that is somewhat exaggerated. I think many of the names that have passed and are passing through the Monthly Circle belong to some promising and gifted youths. We are already reading some of them in the journals. Others have books or soon will have because they have won prizes in some major beginners' competitions. I can cite these names, without any claim that they are all the circle's discoveries (as you know, the youths read in many circles at the same time) and much less with the claim that they will all last. That does not depend upon me at all. It depends upon the talent of each and his resistance to the difficulties of the literary life, because unfortunately native talent is not enough. A true poet is the result of two series of factors, namely his gift and his labor (involving culture, seriousness and self-respect). I am inclined to think talent (as we often call it, indiscriminately, a single condition for success) is what each of us does by himself. Perhaps it would be more helpful to convey to those who aspire to literature the idea that their talent is measured more convincingly by a work, after they have one and not before, as sheer virtuosity, for the sole reason that too many of them tend to bank early in the idea that they have talent and do not reach the point of writing their work. The names of these youths whose works I await with confidence are Florin Iaru, Traian T. Cosovei, Ion Stratan, Viorel Padina, Mircea Cataresou, Magdalena Ghica, Matei Visniec, Romulus Bucur, Doamita Petri, Calin Vlasie, Mariana Marin, Eugen Suciu, and Alexandru Musina. Some are also interesting because of their criticism (a very necessary thing in a circle), such as Radu Calin Cristea, Doru Mares, and perhaps others still in a stage of exploration of whom I hope I can speak as soon as possible.

/Question/ With what writers have you embarked upon "Noah's Ark"? What satisfactions does this new critical voyage give you?

/Answer/ I am keeping the operations secret! The work will be in two volumes and will be a survey of the Romanian novel through analysis of several novels (20 or a few more). It is not a history but an essay based on an idea and attempting to illustrate it.

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CSO: 2700

'ANEMIC THEATRICAL LIFE' LAMENTED BY THEATER REVIEW

Bucharest TEATRUL in Romanian Apr 80 p 61

[Unsigned article: "The Season--Actual Situation and Immediate Prospects"]

[Excerpts] Two-thirds of the theater season is over and (as you can see from the pages which follow), the activity of the theaters continues to be unsatisfactory. Not completely, because theaters around the country which operate at a different pace and with a different awareness of their responsibilities are re-establishing the equilibrium which has suffered continuing deterioration in some central and (still) leading theaters. Theaters with two halls, with large collectives, during six months of an active season, have each presented five or six premieres--the "Nottara", "Bulandra", and National theaters.

It is not hard to predict what will happen. When we enter into the summer season, when the interest of the public in theater declines, theatrical events will abound and spectacles will increase, for the sole purpose of fulfilling the plan for premieres. This is not honest. This is not proper. This is not efficient. What argument can a theater, with a complete and categorically worthwhile collective, with material resources equal to those of other collectives in the country, such as the Comedy Theater, give to support its practice of reducing its number of premieres so that only two premieres have been presented some six months after the season has begun?

We have selected this example at random. Other examples can be given. Unfortunately, there is no lack of examples. And, of course, there is no lack of positive example, examples of theaters which carry out their duty promptly and conscientiously. Achievements and successes do not represent exceptional phenomena but are the natural, objective consequence of the response which the theaters should give to the investment of confidence by the public. Nothing and no one can prevent us from describing (on the contrary, everything obliges us to do so) plainly, openly, and bluntly, negative states of affairs which are the symptoms of an anemic theatrical life.

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BRIEFS

DEATH OF FAMED WRITER--The writer Marin Preda, vice chairman of the Writers Union, director of Cartea Romaneasca Publishing House, corresponding member of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, deputy of the Grand National Assembly, outstanding personality of contemporary Romanian literature died on 16 May 1980 [at age 57]. Closely connected with the life of the people and having a close knowledge of the situation of the Romanian peasantry, Marin Preda made his debut in literature with works which reflected the social condition in the rural world between the two world wars. After his first volume "Intilnirea din paminturi" [The Meeting of the Lands], confirmation of his great literary talent, which placed him in the ranks of the most important contemporary Romanian creators, came to him because of the novel "Morometii" [The Morometi Family], a major work of Romanian post-war literature. It was brilliant expression of the involvement of the awareness of the writer in reflecting the vast social problems of the times in which he lived. His works "Risipitorii" [The Squanderers], "Intrusul" [The Intruder], "Marele singuratic" [The Great Loner], "Delirul" [Frenzy], "Imposibila intoarcere" [The Impossible Return], "Viata ca o prada" [Life as Prey], as well as his last novel, in three volumes, "Cel mai iubit dintre pamanteni" [The Most Beloved Earthling]--books which occupy a top place in the patrimony of our literary values--are evidence of the writer's strong affiliation to national realities and of an understanding of the essential changes produced during the years of socialism in the life of our society. They are an important contribution to the building of socialist culture and intellectual life and to the increasing of the influence which the new literature and art have on Romanian civilization and progress. Many of his books were translated into world languages. [Excerpts] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 May 80 p 5]

CSO: 2700

CONCLUSIONS ON IMPLEMENTING DECISIONS OF HAVANA CONFERENCE

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 17, 4 Apr 80 pp 721-723

[Text] On the basis of article 136 paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Rules of Order of the Assembly of the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia, and having in mind the statement of the president of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, and the report of the Yugoslav delegation to the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Countries in Havana, the Conclusions of the Yugoslav Presidium and the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee of 5 October 1979, and the opinion of the Federal Social Council for International Relations, and at the proposal of the Committee of the Federal Council for Foreign Affairs and the Committee of the Council of Republics and Provinces for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, the Federal Council of the Yugoslav Assembly in session on 26 March 1980, and the Council of Republics and Provinces in session on 26 March 1980, approved these Conclusions on the General Directions for Action to Implement the Decisions of the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana:

The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana produced results of fundamental significance for the continuing development and strengthening of the policies and the movement of nonalignment. The basic principles and goals of the policies of nonalignment and of the nonaligned movement were affirmed entirely as the independent motivating force outside of blocs and the universal initiator in international relations, which has an essential impact on strengthening peace, security, free development, equal cooperation and progress. The anti-imperialist and anticolonial nature of the politics of nonalignment and its stand against all forms of domination, hegemony, inequality and exploitation in international relations was confirmed.

The Yugoslav Assembly stresses the role of Yugoslavia and the especially important contribution and involvement of President Tito in preserving unity, democracy and solidarity in the movement based on the fundamental principles of nonalignment and the strengthening of its capabilities for action and direction in crucial matters of international relations and cooperation.

The implementation of the resolutions of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Nations in Havana, and mutual cooperation between nonaligned countries and developing countries on that basis, takes a particular position in the struggle for the establishment of new international political and economic relations, for the further affirmation of the politics of nonalignment, the strengthening of solidarity and unity of the nonaligned countries, and for the actual building of a new international economic order. Unity in politics and action in the coming phase of the development of the nonaligned movement will depend more than ever on the ability to carry out concrete, jointly agreed-upon multilateral and bilateral economic, scientific and cultural, informational, cultural and other programs of general interest for the nonaligned countries and the developing countries in the world as a whole.

In particular, economic cooperation between the nonaligned countries and other developing countries, on the bases of unity, complementary and mutual interests, solidarity, and mutual assistance on the principle of reliance on each country's inherent strengths, has been a necessity for all these countries as a significant part of longterm processes of their development and a crucial element in their struggle for a new international economic order.

Yugoslav cooperation with the nonaligned countries and the developing countries is its lasting orientation and longterm goal in the interests of strengthening its own independent international position, its development and its economic stabilization.

II.

The Documents of the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana contained the political and practical platform for the nonaligned movement in its struggle for the resolution of the great problems of the contemporary world and for its activities in forming progressive opinion in international political and economic relations in the interest of all nations.

The struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana becomes even more crucial under conditions of the current dangerous and tense international situation and the threats to detente, which have arisen as a consequence of the global confrontation of the great powers and bloc rivalry, the application of the policy of expanding spheres of influence and of the accomplished fact, attacks on the independence and territorial integrity of sovereign states, particularly nonaligned states, and the continuation of the arms race. Under these conditions, conscientious application of the conclusions of the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana offers prospects for a way out of the current crisis, for improvement of the international atmosphere, and for real solutions to key international problems.

Therefore, the Yugoslav Assembly once again confirms the readiness of Yugoslavia to give its full contribution, together with other nonaligned countries, to the conscientious implementation of the decisions of the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana.

In implementing the decisions of the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana, the Yugoslav Assembly affirms that the main directions of activities of all parties involved in international cooperation in Yugoslavia should be directed to:

--the constant affirmation and strengthening of the fundamental principles and goals of the policy of nonalignment, its independent position and role outside of blocs, and the strengthening of the unity of the movement of nonaligned countries;

--the comprehensive effort to contribute to a reduction in international tension;

--comprehensive support of movements for national liberation;

--resolution of acute international problems and crises in the world that threaten peace and constantly bring into question the independence and unhindered development of countries and peoples;

--resistance to all attempts at involvement and intervention in the internal affairs of other states;

--comprehensive contributions to halting the arms race and beginning a real process of disarmament;

--further efforts to have disputes and clashes between nonaligned countries resolved exclusively by peaceful means;

--further development of democratic relationships in the nonaligned movement,

--implementation of the economic portion of the Concluding Declaration and the Action Program of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana in the process of realization of a new international economic order as the key approach for successfully resolving existing world economic difficulties in the interests of all countries;

--confirmation of the New International Strategy for Development for the third decade;

the opening of global talks on international economic cooperation for development, on the basis and within the frameworks of the Resolution of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana, which would encompass raw materials, food, energy, commerce, technology,

development, money and finances, along with simultaneous involvement in the work of such international organizations as UNCTAD, GATT, the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and others;

--the advancement of Yugoslav economic relations with the nonaligned countries and the developing countries with the active, direct and organized inclusion of associated labor, so that Yugoslav economic relations could be more in concert with the level that has been achieved in the development of political relations;

--strengthening the activities of nonaligned countries in the United Nations Organization to promote the principles of the aims of nonalignment of the action programs of the nonaligned countries;

--the implementation of measures of the part of the Concluding Document of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries on cooperation and activities in the area of information, for the creation of a new international order in this area, as a significant component in the building of a new international economic order; and

--comprehensive expansion of cooperation between nonaligned and developing countries in the areas of culture, science, health, education, sport, etc.

III.

The Yugoslav Assembly approves the following conclusions and directives:

1. Implementation of the decisions of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana, considering the many areas that they involve and the Yugoslav constitutional and political system, presupposes the continuing involvement of the entire Yugoslav social community, from basic and other organizations of associated labor (including cooperatives), banks, economic chambers, self-management interest communities, sociopolitical organizations and sociopolitical communities, from the opcina through the republics and autonomous provinces to the federation. Thus all agencies, organizations, and individuals are obliged in international economic, political, cultural, scientific and other relationships with agencies and organizations abroad to strive for the implementation of the activity programs of Yugoslavia that come out of the decisions of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana. The internal organization and joint coordination and agreement of parties to international cooperation in Yugoslavia is a necessary condition for the successful implementation of the programs and tasks in this area.

2. All parties to international activities in Yugoslavia shall develop activity programs in their areas of work in accordance with their constitutional and legal authorities, and shall undertake concrete measures of activity for their realization. The program of the Federal Executive Council on implementing

the tasks that come out of the decisions and directives of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries and the program of activities in the Yugoslav Economic Chamber and in general associations for carrying out the conclusions of the conference in Havana shall provide the guidelines for the preparation of such programs.

3. The assemblies of sociopolitical communities, and primarily those of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces, should undertake measures for the successful implementation of the decisions of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries within the scope of their responsibilities.

4. In preparing annual, intermediate and longterm plans for social development such as are now in the planning process, it is necessary to take into account the basic tasks that emerge from the documents of the Sixth Conference... in order, by realistic consideration of the interests and capabilities and the approval of suitable measures, to attain the maximum involvement of the entire economy and to advance economic cooperation with developing countries as significant factors in Yugoslav internal development. In that direction, it will be necessary to increase the participation of the nonaligned countries and developing countries in Yugoslavia's economic relations with foreign countries so that at the end of the intermediate plan for the socioeconomic development of Yugoslavia for 1981-1985 those countries will have at least a 25 percent share in Yugoslavia's total foreign trade.

Parties to Yugoslavia's international activities should undertake measures to promote greater capabilities and involvement of scientific institutes and other scientific organizations for greater participation in implementing the Action Program of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana. This will contribute to associating and coordinating the programs of scientific and other institutions in order to promote the monitoring, research, and analysis of continuing trends in the nonaligned movement in the context of trends in international relations as a whole. Measures should also be taken to resolve the material, financial, personnel and other problems involved in scientific work, and support should be given for broader ties between scholarly institutions and associated labor. In that context, cooperation should be strengthened between scholarly institutions and the International Center for the Management of Publically Owned Enterprises in Developing Countries.

The Federal Executive Council shall provide information and data of federal agencies and organizations necessary for approving action programs for the implementation of the decisions of the Sixth Conference, and to promote their implementation, shall organize comprehensive, constant and timely provision of information to suitable parties to Yugoslavia's international activities.

7. Yugoslavia shall make special efforts in those program areas of joint cooperative action by nonaligned countries where it has accepted the obligation to be one of the coordinating countries, it shall initiate actions

that will lead to realistic solutions and contribute to concrete cooperation. For that purpose the appropriate federal agencies, in cooperation with all interested parties, shall prepare platforms and programs of activities in those areas.

8. Yugoslavia's preparations for the Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on establishing a new international economic order, for global negotiations and for the Third Decade of the United Nations on the strategy for development, presuppose the involvement of all agencies and organizations, in keeping with their responsibilities. The platforms for those international conferences and action programs shall be considered by task forces of the councils of the Yugoslav Assembly within the framework of their jurisdiction. By their activities at conferences of nonaligned and developing countries and in the work of various agencies and bodies of the United Nations, Yugoslav representatives have the responsibility to contribute to the conscientious application of the decisions of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana.

9. All parties to international activities in Yugoslavia shall develop their activity in the direction of implementing the Resolution of the Yugoslav Assembly on the economic cooperation of Yugoslavia with developing countries and on carrying out the economic decisions of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Colombo. These conclusions contribute to the greatest degree to the implementation of the decisions of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana in the area of Yugoslavia's international relations with developing countries.

10. The Federal Council and the Council of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly shall at least once a year discuss the implementation of the decisions of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana. The councils shall examine the platforms for international activities of Yugoslavia in individual areas that are of significance for carrying out the decisions of the Sixth Conference. The councils shall instruct their task forces, within the framework of their jurisdiction, to take a full part in affirming and implementing the Yugoslav program of activities, to monitor the realization of the programs and, as needed, to propose the passage of suitable acts of the Yugoslav Assembly and other acts.

11. These conclusions shall be published in the SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

Belgrade, 26 March 1980

The President of the Council of Republics and Provinces
Zoran Polic (signed)

The President of the Federal Council
Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen (signed)

12131
CSO: 2800

DOLANC ADDRESSES LJUBLJANA LAW SCHOOL ON DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 15 Apr 80 pp 4-6

[Text of Address by Stane Dolanc, Member of the LCY CC Presidium, to the Ljubljana University Law School on 14 April 1980]

[Text] The Organization of the Working Class Prior to the October Revolution

At first, I would like to remind you of Marx's view of the party as the vanguard of the proletarian struggle: I will quote from the MANIFESTO, in which it is emphasized that "communists, in practice, are that part of the workers parties of all countries that has the greatest resolve, that continually wants to go forward; from a theoretical standpoint, they have that advantage over the other mass of the proletariat in that they comprehend the conditions, the course, and the general results of the proletarian movement." Communists, as such a vanguard (those who are in the lead) "...at the different stages of development which the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie goes through, constantly represent the interests of the entire movement," and "...struggle in order to achieve the most immediate goals and interests of the working class, for in the current movement, at the same time they also represent the future of the movement." It is important for us to comprehend not only that they are the theoretical vanguard, but even more, that they are also that force that "has the greatest resolve" in practical struggles, and which "continually wants to go forward," in which case it stands for the dialectical union of the direct and historical interests of the working class. The theoretical positions of the communists "are only the general sources of the actual relations of the existing class struggle, the historical movement which is coming to pass before our eyes." With these positions, Marx also links theoretical progress of communists inseparably with the practical advance--political struggle.

In the resolution of the London Conference of the First International in 1871, which Marx wrote and which The Hague Congress of the International adopted in 1872 as Article 7 of its statute, it is stated: The proletariat, in its struggle against the combined forces of the proprietor classes, can operate as a class only if it also organizes itself into a separate political party that stands in opposition to all the old parties of the proprietor classes. Thi:

organization of the proletariat into a political party is necessary in order to assure the victory of the socialist revolution and its ultimate goal: the elimination of classes." It is significant that the International adopted this position after the [fall of the] Paris Commune and the analysis of its results and downfall.

Dialectics of Ideological-Theoretical and Practical-Political Action

It is very important for us to comprehend the two starting points of Marx's theoretical reflections on the political organization of the working class. The first, which leads to the problem of ideological, theoretical leadership, and the second, which leads to the problem of the political organization of the proletariat. So we are talking here about two basic differences and functions of a political organization of the working class: the ideological-theoretical and the practical-political. The concept of a communist party, also the kind that was later developed with Lenin, is taken to mean the dialectical unity of these two functions. It is very important that we comprehend this for the very reason of being able to understand the principle of democratic centralism, which principle is applied differently to these two functions. These two basic functions of a political organization of the working class are the essence of what Marx called "a party in its broad historical sense" in a letter to F. Freiligrath in 1960.

Nevertheless, Marx and Engels also belonged to concrete political organizations of the working class, and they also collaborated in the work of some of these organizations, in which case they fought for specific principles and practices of organization and activity of these parties.

From a Conspiratorial Organization to an Opposition Party of the Future

The total activity of Marx and Engels within the Communist League was concentrated in the struggle against the sectarian, conspiratorial tradition. The Communist League originated in 1847 from the Weitling League of the Just, which to a great degree was organized in the form of the secret, conspiratorial organizations of the Carbonari and Jacobin type. The condition whereby Marx and Engels joined this organization was the change in nature of the League of the Just. This change took place at its congress, and the newly-formed Communist League was conceived by its statute as a political-propaganda organization. According to Marx, the idea of the existence of the Communist League was the "formation of a party of the proletariat...an opposition party of the future."

The Communist League was organized on the level of local communities (Gemeinden), districts (Kreis), a central administration, and a congress. It was significant that only the chairmen of local communities and their deputies were in the committees of the districts.

The Communist League, as a political-propaganda organization, did not have to be structured more solidly, since the organizational question (which

becomes a vital ideological-political question in communist parties later on), was not set forth as a specific question. Democracy within it, which Marx and Engels insisted on, had the earmark of a unique delegate principle, whereas the decisions were adopted according to the majority principle.

Marx's Concept of the International: a Center for the Cooperation of Workers of Different Countries Who are Striving for the Same Goal

The 8 years of Marx's involvement in the International Workers Union (1864-1872) represents that period of Marx's life which was the richest in terms of practical-political activity. Among the other documents of the International, Marx wrote all four of its statutes (1864-1866, 1971, and 1872), its working rules, and its organizational regulations. In the statute he emphasized that "the union has been established to operate as a center for communication and cooperation between the workers of different countries, who are striving for the same goal, namely, for mutual defense, for progress, and for the complete liberation of the working class."

In the statute adopted at the London Conference of the International (1871), the concept of the union was expanded: "This union has been established for the purpose of acting as a center for communications and planned mutual action."

The members of the International safeguarded their political and organizational autonomy, whereas the General Council as the highest permanent organ of the International had as its main function the distribution of information and know-how, and the provision of proposals to national unions. The work of the congress and the General Assembly was in conformity with fundamental democratic principles.

The letter to I. B. Schweizer (1868) also shows how much Marx was against sectarian organizations and their undemocratic composition; in the letter, he criticizes his draft statute, which was proposed to the founding congress of trade unions in Germany. In the letter, among other things, Marx states the following: "I am not moving forward by myself here, for let me only remind you that a centralist organization, as suitable as it might be for a secret society and a sectarian movement, is contrary to the essence of trade unions...Here, where a worker has been deceived by chicanery in a bureaucratic manner since early infancy, and where he is a believer in authority, in power, it is necessary first and foremost to teach him to walk by himself..."

As far as the organizational question is concerned, Marx and Engels conducted a struggle on two fronts in the First International.

In Their Concept of Organization of the Workers Movement, Marx and Engels Rejected Both Centralism and Anarchism

On one hand, they steadfastly opposed (as they did in the Communist League) the tendency for a return to the workers movement of an aloof authoritaria[illegible]

of leadership, centralism, lack of democracy, etc of secret conspiratorial worker societies of the Carbonari and Blankist type. At the session of the London Conference of the International, which took place on 22 September 1871, Marx stated, among other things:

"This kind of organization in opposition to the development of the proletarian movement, for instead of the workers playing a part, they are subjected to authoritarian and mystical laws, which prevent them from being emancipated and which distort their consciousness. Secret societies would be contrary to the meaning of the international uniting of workers, they can be used for the Carbonari, but not for the interests of the proletarian movement."

On the other hand, Marx and Engels fought against Bakunin's anarchist principles and his efforts which were directed toward gaining control over the International with his cohorts, and then (if not successful) to break up the International. In 1871, in Switzerland, the Bakuninists criticized the General Council of the International because of its exercise of discipline in organization, and because of the majority-minority principle in the adoption of decisions and its authoritarianism, and they proposed that the council be reduced to a "simple statistical and correspondence bureau." In this connection, Engels wrote: "Right here, when we have to struggle with all our might, it is proposed to the proletariat that it should not organize with respect to the needs of struggle, but rather, along the indefinite concepts of certain fantasies about the society of the future! No party discipline, no centralization of forces at a single point, no weapons for the battle...well where would such a new organization bring us?"

Marx and Engels also referred to their views on a working class party in meetings with the leaderships of the German, French, Austrian, and other parties.

If, in view of the main theme of this presentation, we exclude Marx's and Engels' views, criticisms and suggestions with respect to the class significance of individual parties, their relation to the working class, and their strategic and tactical decisions, and dwell only on the questions of internal party structure, we can then ascertain that the overwhelming part of Marx's and Engels' interventions was aimed at democratic relations and practice in a workers party.

Engels' Stand in Favor of Criticism in Party Ranks

In this respect, Engels was especially in favor of the presence of criticism in party ranks, in which case, he judges that it is natural, that opposition to the dominant trend develops within it. In his famous letter to Gerson Trier (1889), when the latter was expelled from the Social Democratic Party of Denmark as a leader of a revolutionary minority, Engels wrote: "As regards the Hovedbestyrelsen's move against you and your friends--such shameful expulsions of an opposition from a party were proper in the secret societies of 1840-1851; such an expulsion was necessary for a secret

organization. This continued to take place, and quite frequently too, with the English Chartists--partisans of physical force, and also under O'Connor's dictatorship. At that time the Chartists were a party that was organized for direct attack, as is indicated by its very name, and therefore they were under dictatorship, and expulsion was a military move... It would be difficult if anyone from among the current socialist workers parties got the idea..., to use the Danish model of dealing with the opposition that is growing in its own ranks. In the life and growth of every party it is also judged that in the presence of such opposition, the more goal oriented and the more extreme lines, struggle with one another and those who expell the more extreme lines after short proceedings do nothing more than support their growth this way." In his letter to Bernstein in 1882, Engels emphasized: "It seems that every workers party of any large country can develop only in internal struggle, as generally emerges from the law of dialectic development."

In this regard, however, it should be stressed that Marx and Engels were very strict with respect to the propagation of petty bourgeois concepts in the German and other parties, especially to those holding such concepts who adopted positions against the class significance of the workers party and toward the concepts that the proletariat is unable to emancipate itself alone and that it needs the leadership of petty bourgeois intellectuals. It is sufficient to mention the well-known letter (circular) sent on 17-18 September 1879 to A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, W. Brake, and others, in which Marx and Engels declared that they would break their solidarity with the German party if the propagation of petty bourgeois concepts were permitted in it.

The Party Apparatus Must Operate In Conformity With the Will of the Membership, and Not Vice Versa.

Engels stresses that criticism of party leadership is necessary by reason of their particular responsibility. In a letter to Kautsky (1891), he writes: "It is really necessary for the people to stop once and for all dealing with the party officials--their own servants--with kid gloves and subject themselves to them like indespensible bureaucrats, instead of criticizing them."

In this connection, Engels on many occasions speaks out in favor of a party press, which would not be directly dependent upon the party leadership. Thus, in his letter to Bebel (1892), Engels writes: "Your 'etatization' of the press, if it goes too far, can be the cause of much unpleasantness. You must of necessity have a press in the party that is not directly dependent upon the main committee, and also not at all on the party congress, i.e., a press that is able, within the scope of the program and the adopted tactics, to show without flinching that it is in opposition to individual steps that the party is taking and that within the limits of party morale, it can freely subject such a program to criticism as a tactic. As the chief committee of the party, you must support that kind of press, you must even set up such a press, for then you will always have a greater influence on it, rather than having it come to pass against your will."

When Mehring complained that the party press did not pay the least attention to his literary works, Engels (1892) wrote Bebel: "Here, however, we all ought to complain--that is how it is with you, with me, with everyone else. In spite of this, I think--even if it may at times be unpleasant for someone--that this notable indifference of our press may however be one of its greatest advantages. Mehring's works are purchased and are read also without advertising in the periodical VORWAERTS and it is better not to publicise in vain, as is the case with so much trash in the party literature that it is a pity to send it out into the world."

Marx and Engels Opposed the Organizational Model and the Requirements for Rigid Obedience

Having consideration for the growth of the workers movement, the formation of mass worker political parties, and the need for democratic relations in them, Engels spoke out against "rigid" "strict" organization, against "rigid obedience," and all of those characterizations that were important for the former secret and sectarian worker organizations.

The mass political parties of the working class were established in nearly all European countries (and even in some non-European countries), after the London Conference and the Hague Congress of the First International recommended the establishment of national proletarian parties of the working class, and, especially, from 1875 (formation of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in Gotha) to 1905 (formation of the Labour Party in Great Britain). The majority of these parties operated legally and in the main, they were organized according to those principles that Marx and Engels advocated (of course, with inevitable sporatic violations of these principles).

Since these mass worker parties were already organized as specific political structures with basic organizations and leadership, the internal centralization and strict discipline, that would be significant for the concept and practice of democratic centralism in communist parties, was still not significant for them. Therefore, it can be said that they were not organized according to the principle of democratic centralism. The causes of this lay mainly in the very historical conditions in which these parties operated, and in the tasks which were placed objectively in the forefront.

The Base of Lenin's Social Analysis and Revolutionary Activity

Vladimir Ilich Lenin emerged on the historical scene at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th, with three essentially new perceptions, which lie at the base of all of his main viewpoints, and with which he would influence the further development of the workers movement more than any other Marxist after Marx.

The first perception is that during the epoch of imperialism, proletariat revolution has come to the fore, and also not only in some generally historical meaning, but rather in a concretely historical meaning; for Lenin, in reality,

for the workers movement, the revolution became the question of the day, and that is why one is urged to prepare for it with all forces.

The other perception is that the possibility (also including essential concrete indications) of socialist revolution cannot be drawn theoretically from Marx's criticism of the political economy, that in actuality, the revolution does not stem directly from the economic confusion of capitalism, even more, that in the theoretical derivation of the revolution and in its actual implementation, an entire system of political relations and institutions act as intermediaries, which means that the political sphere and those active in it acquire the leading role in revolution.

From these two perceptions of Lenin, there came about also a third perception of the possibility of breaking the imperialist chain at its "weakest link" in the entire world system of imperialism. Lenin's analysis showed that the weakest link was not that country in which the capitalist relations are the most developed (Marxist tradition before Lenin had the idea--which was not without support from Marx--that the socialist revolution would begin in those very most highly developed countries of Europe), but that this would be in those countries in which capitalist relations, inclusive also of their political superstructure, are burdened with heightened contradictions, the greater part of which are also the result of the lack of development of these relations. From this comes the perception that initially, socialist revolution in those underdeveloped capitalist countries would proceed from bourgeois-democratic revolutions, but in such a way that the proletariat in these revolutions would emerge as a leader and (secondly), that there will be no "pure" proletarian revolutions, rather, that the proletariat will have to count on "transitional classes," first of all on the peasants, namely as allies and as a certain kind of adversary.

In such a historical situation where the social and political contradictions in Tsarist Russia were strained to the maximum, to the extent that the question of revolution was posed as a direct task, along with this, Lenin and the Bolsheviks were faced also with the question of preparation for revolution, i.e., how, and in what way to reach the particular features of the struggle of the working class, and how to link individual spontaneous battles of the proletariat into a revolutionary movement.

The revolutionary crisis in Russia, on one hand, and the sharp internal factional struggle in the Russian Social Democratic Party, on the other, led Lenin to the decision that "in storming the fortress of capitalism, the proletariat can only be lead by a firmly organized and united party of the working class, connected from top to bottom, with cells as the basic organizations. The basic principle of organization of such a party was democratic centralism.

The First Definition of Democratic Centralism

This principle was entered for the first time in the history of the workers and communist movement into the statute of the RSDWP [Russian Socialist

Democratic Workers Party] in 1906 at the congress in Bern. Lenin had a direct role in formulating this statute.

It is interesting that the workers movement of the 19th century had no knowledge of basic organizations, cells. This organizational form took place after the splitting of the Russian socialist movement into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. Until then, the workers parties were composed of a membership, which was not organized into basic organizations--in the same way as in the social democratic parties of today. Only with Lenin did the party emerge as a united, structured organization, on the principles of democratic centralism.

If we follow the historical development of this principle of organization of a party of the working class, we must not forget, either, the fact that elements of democracy and centralism were already present in the statute of the First International, although the term "democratic centralism" was not used, and they were also brought into the relations between the lower and higher organs of the International.

Thus, we can conclude that since the second half of the 19th century, the need for unity was present in all workers parties, on one hand, and the problem of democracy was present, on the other, and this was so both within these parties and in their relations with one another.

Lenin: Only the Decisions of The Party Congress are Obligatory

One could say that these are the historical roots of the principle of democratic centralism in the communist movement. Let me add that from the very beginning of the practice of democratic centralism there appeared the notion that iron discipline is essential for the proletariat, and that it is necessary for the workers movement. However, this idea is contradicted by the fact that Lenin began to dispense democratic centralism in a situation when the Bolsheviks were in the minority in the party, and when he wanted to assure the influence and the role of the minority this way. In a series of articles, he exhorted the working class of Russia to study the decisions of the central committee well and not to accept them blindly. He emphasizes that the decisions of the central committee are not suitable in all cases for an organization, rather, only the decisions of the congress are suitable, and that it is possible to hold discussions on the decisions of the central committee.

After the October Revolution as well, there were examples of where Lenin--even bedridden during the last years of his life--openly opposed individual decisions of the central committee, in which case there was reserved the right in the party to fight against those positions and decisions of the central committee, which he considered to be in error. This manipulation by Lenin can only be found in the first Soviet edition of the Collected Works of Lenin, for these [examples] are omitted in later editions.

It is understandable that the general historical conditions of the struggle for socialism have occurred between Lenin's times and now. This is confirmed

persuasively by our own, the Chinese, the Algerian, the Cuban, and a number of other anti-imperialist, anticolonialist, and national liberation revolutions. With this, the principle of democratic centralism has also experienced its historical evolution.

Democratic Centralism in the Statutes of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

We can study and we must study the principle of democratic centralism among other ways, also in dependence upon the socio-historical conditions in which the CYP [Communist Party of Yugoslavia] or the LCY operated, meaning in dependence upon its program goals, the content of the concrete tasks, the forms and means of ideological-political struggle, and the social revolutionary actions, which it conducted at individual periods of its historical revolutionary activity. In addition, in discussing and analyzing the role, the place, and the meaning of democratic centralism in the life and activity of such a revolutionary organization as the LCY, it is also necessary to pay heed to the conditions in the league itself, meaning, the degree of ideological and political unity and action and organizational stability of its ranks or its entire structur Although it is a historical fact that we have been following the system of democratic centralism in the statues o' the CPY or LCY, we are able to state clearly that special emphasis has been given to the requirement for the implementation and unconditional observation of these rules of democratic centralism which are primarily expressed in the words "strict" or "strictest party discipline" or "strictest centralization and discipline in the party," such as during the time of factional warfare of the CPY. In the same way, during the National Liberation War period, the CPY demanded strict discipline and unconditional fulfillment of the decisions of the top party forms from its members, leaders, organs, and bodies. In other words, democratic centralism, in its basic meaning and content was, on the whole, a means and instrument for assuring ideological-political unity and unity in action, and the internal organizational stability of the CPY or LCY. On the other hand, the forms and methods of implementing these principles, and the means and instruments of practical application of individual rules were on the whole dependent upon the aforenoted two factors.

Of course, they were also dependent upon certain other factors, such as, the influence of the Comintern on the CPY, and other influences.

The CPY Defined its Program of Activity in Accordance With the Tasks and Problems it Faced.

The Communist Party or the League of Communists of Yugoslavia defined the program of its activity and its concrete ideological and political tasks on the whole, in accordance with the socio-historical circumstances and with the desires, wants, and needs of the working class in Yugoslavia, and of its peoples and national minorities in the struggle for their national and social liberation. In accordance with this, the LC also adapted the form of its revolutionary activity and method of organization of its practical

political activity, and in this area, the forms of realizing and the means of implementing the principles of democratic centralism. In short, the Communist Party or the LCY, in the history of its revolutionary activity, never interpreted democratic centralism dogmatically; moreover--in the same way as with all other questions of its revolutionary role and historical responsibility on the road of socialist transformation of our society--it expanded its rules critically and creatively, and adapted them to the conditions and needs of the struggle it was waging, and to the problems and tasks which it was solving at a given historical period.

In all the statutes of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or the LCY--from the 1st to the 11th congresses--democratic centralism is recorded as one of the basic principles of its internal life, and its organization and activity. As a statutory norm, which regulates the internal relations in the CPY or LCY, which in reality determines the rules of conduct of all members, basic organizations, forums, and organs, this principle was clearly and unequivocally recorded in all statutes. At the same time, democratic centralism was one of the basic forms of relations, an expression of the essence and system of these relations, and therefore, an important instrument of unity in the CPY or LCY, from its very establishment to this day.

Of course, it must be said that democratic centralism and the rules and regulations of democratic centralism were not present in all statutes of the CPY or LCY either from a terminological sense from the standpoint of content, neither were they formulated completely and in detail, and to a sufficient extent. Nevertheless, in their significance and value, they always clearly expressed the basic content, function, and goals of democratic centralism. Thus, let us say, in the statue adopted at the First CPY Congress, it is stated that "the unity of the party is demonstrated at the general congress... and in the party council as the central organ of the party" and that all decisions of the council "are unconditionally binding for all members of the party, all party organs, and all party organizations." In the statute adopted at the second congress, it is stated that the party "is led by all its members through the congress, which is the highest body in the party" and that all party organs are subordinate to the central party council.

It is shown that the words democratic centralism were written for the first time in the statute adopted at the Third CPY Congress, which met in 1926 in Vienna. In this statute, it was stated literally: "The Communist Party of Yugoslavia is built on the basis of democratic centralism, as are all sections of the Communist International..." Further on, three basic principles of democratic centralism are formulated:

"a. the election of higher and lower party organs at assemblies of party members, at conferences, and at the party congress.

"b. Periodic reporting about their work by the party organs to the members of the party who elected them.

"c. Obligatory recognition of the decisions of the higher party organs on the part of the lower organs, strict party discipline, rapid and exact implementation of the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and of the leading party organs."

The Statutes of the CPY Introduced Various Points of Emphasis Into the Regulations on Democratic Centralism.

The regulations on democratic centralism, which were recorded in the statute that was adopted at the third congress, are also important because they carry the explicit obligation for "the rapid and exact implementation of the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International." This obligation was repeated in various formulations in more places in this statute. We must emphasize that no previous statute of the Yugoslav communists included such regulations, nor did any statute after the Third CPY Congress either. Further on in this formulation, it is also written: "At the same time, in the party, totally free discussion of all disputed questions is permitted right up to the time that a decision is made." Subsequently, meaning after the statute adopted at the third congress, and in all subsequent statutes, along with the aforenoted three principles, other rules of democratic centralism were noted more or less completely, and more or less detailed and formulated. These are: unity in the acceptance of decisions, especially in the realization and implementation of decisions, subordination of the minority to the majority by decision, and other rules. Of course, certain statutes emphasize those regulations that assure strict and firm discipline, whereas others ascribe greater importance to the regulations that define the democratic content of democratic centralism.

End Factional Fighting With Open Self-Criticism

Therefore, the aforenoted resolutions of the fourth congress, the goal of which was the elimination of factional fighting, stressed Lenin's words: "Whoever weakens the iron discipline of the Proletarian Party even insignificantly, is, in reality, helping the bourgeoisie against the proletariat." It is also emphasized in these resolutions that "for the purpose of healing the internal party relations, one of the most important tasks of the party is the implementation of open self-criticism of all errors and deficiencies." At the same time, the need is emphasized for the implementation of internal party democracy as well as "the unconditional subordination of the minority to the majority."

In comparison with earlier statutes, the statutory regulations on democratic centralism that were adopted at the fifth congress are not only formulated more completely and in greater detail, and to a certain extent express this principle more amply from a standpoint of content, but also, in addition to the statement that the party is organized on the principle of democratic centralism, and in addition to the already familiar rules cited, they also formulate certain elements of democratic centralism which were not present in the earlier statutes, or which were not so clearly expressed in them.

In the introduction of this statute, it is stated that the CPY was forged into a strong united organization, linked with conscious discipline, which is obligatory for all its members in equal measure. Further on, it is stated: "The strength of the party lies in its strong and in the unity of will and action of all its members." Article 22 of this statute is also significant. It states: "Every member of the party has the inviolable right, which derives from internal party democracy, to cooperate freely and constructively in his organization in the discussion and solution of problems which concern party policy. Only on the basis of internal party discipline will it be possible for free, sound, and constructive criticism and self-criticism to develop and for party discipline, which must be conscientious, and not mechanical, to be strengthened."

The LCY Has Also Changed the Method of Its Operation in the Struggle for Self-Management

In the history of the statutory existence of the CPY or LCY, this is the first example, of such a method of discussion of internal party democracy and discipline, which, of course, was the reflection of changed socio-historic conditions, the content of the tasks, and also, a reflection of the change in the role of the CPY during that period. After the fifth congress, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or LCY, in the struggle for the decentralization of authority and the democratization of social life, especially in the struggle for self-management, has continuously adapted the content of its work and its tasks, as well as its methods of operating, forms of internal organization, and the method and means of implementing democratic centralism to changing conditions.

In the general principles of the statute adopted at the Ninth LCY Congress, the definition of the principle of democratic centralism was included for the first time. It was repeated with slight amendments and practically word-for-word in the statutes of the 10th and 11th LCY congresses as well. It is important not only in itself, but in the effort to formulate in one paragraph, in summary form, the content and significance of the principle of democratic centralism. Also, from the regulations of all the earlier statutes, regardless of all the earlier statutes, regardless of how they were formulated, it is possible to see quite clearly all the essential elements and the basic content of the principle.

A Member of the League of Communists is the Main Executor of its Policy and Viewpoints

Nevertheless, the statute adopted at this congress speaks unequivocably, for the first time of the democratic content of the principle of democratic centralism, and emphasizes the democratic nature of relations within the LC. In this spirit, it is explicitly stated--also for the first time--that the LC member is the main subject in the formation of policy and viewpoints of the league, and along with this--since he is the main executor of its policy and viewpoints--he consciously accepts responsibility upon himself for their consistent realization.

On this basis, nevertheless, it is not possible to conclude that the earlier statutes did not have similar regulations, which, in a suitable democratic way, regulated the position, place, and role of members of the LC, especially their rights with respect to regulating the policy and viewpoints of the LC, as concerns free criticism and self-criticism, a democratic battle of opinions, the right and freedom to make suggestions, the right to evaluate and criticize the work of forums and organs, etc. Besides this, we must state that these principles, meaning, such a position and role of the LC members, were implemented consistantly as also was the position of organizations, forums, organs and bodies, especially in the life and in the daily political practice of the League of Communists, even with regard to how many there are and how detailed they were formulated in the statutes.

In this respect, I refer mainly to numerous other documents of the CPY, the speeches and articles of comrades Tito and Kardelj, even during the prewar period, at the time of the revolution, and after it too, where the viewpoints and thoughts are found, from which even then there emerged the guidelines of the CPY in democratic internal relations, in the role of CPY members, in basic organizations, the importance of criticism and self-criticism, on which it was possible to implement democracy in the party, and revolutionary unity and readiness for action.

Conscientious Discipline is a Condition for Unity

All of the statutes from the fifth to the ninth congresses of the CPY or LCY, in their regulations on democratic centralism, demand firmness and unity of the organization as a whole, which is linked with conscientious discipline, binding in equal measure upon all of its members, a unity of will and unified action of all members and organizations, and are in conformity with those regulations included in the general principles. But at the introduction, in greater detail, more or less completely, in a special part of the statute, the elements of democratic centralism are defined and determined along with the rights and duties of CPY or LCY members. Since it is stated clearly in the statute adopted at the fifth congress that firm party discipline has to be conscientious and not mechanical, then therefore, in this, as well as in later statutes, emphasis is placed on discipline, unity of will and action, and mainly, the obligation to accept and implement the decisions of the majority.

Therefore it could be said that more attention is given to that part of the concept and function of democratic centralism that assures discipline, responsibility, and the obligations of the members of the League of Communists, whereas the democratic content and nature of this principle is determined to a much lesser degree--in some statutes, only in passing. Thus, there has been no more detailed definition, or if so, not sufficiently completely and satisfactorily, as to what are the path and the method that should be used to arrive at unity of will and action, to conscientious discipline, to the decisions and viewpoints, of the majority, and what the role of the membership of the League of Communists is, to what extent is a member the actuator of the total process of development of democratic

relations, and to what extent is he in reality the basic subject in shaping policy and stands of the League of Communists.

In the statute adopted at the seventh congress, it is stated that a member of the LC has the right"...to freely express his own opinions and views of all questions of social development and to defend them in organizations of the LC, to participate in the discussions of LC policy at organization meetings and in the press, and to accept their decisions, to hold his own opinion before adoption of the decision of the organization..." Similar rules are contained also in the statutes adopted at the eighth congress, but with the statement in them also that a member of the League of Communists, in implementing adopted viewpoints and decisions, and on the basis of practical experience, gives the organization and the leadership of the league his opinions on them and submits his own proposals.

We stated already that the question of democratic centralism in the League of Communists can be and must be discussed with respect to the condition or the level of development of self-management democratic relations in the society, and on the role and task of the League of Communists at specific periods of our socialist self-management development. As long as the League of Communists was personally connected with the apparatus of the executive political field in carrying out its role of vanguard of the working class, in implementing democratic centralism, much more objective emphasis was given to its obligatory or duty and discipline aspect. With the development of self-management as an integral social system, especially with the changes in self-management production and socio-economic relations, with the initiation of the building of a system of free association and of a delegate system based on it, the question of democracy was also treated differently in the League of Communists.

Greater Emphasis on Democracy Does Not Disavow Discipline

However, these changes with respect to the way, the means, and the implementation of democratic centralism cannot be interpreted as a rejection or disavowal of those principles of democratic centralism that bind all members, organizations, forums, and organs to quite specific conduct, and to strict discipline in the League of Communists. "For it holds true in reality that whoever is for democracy, is also for democratic centralism" said Edvard Kardelj on a certain occasion.

During the period between the eighth and ninth congresses (1964-1969), as well as in the statute adopted at the ninth congress, special attention is given to the building and development of democratic relations in the League of Communists. Democracy was also given a much greater and also more complete definition than before, especially with respect to the position and role of an LC member as the basic subject and actuator of the shaping and implementation of policy and positions. At that time, we also discussed questions on the relations between the majority and minority in the LC, and on the duties of the minority to accept and carry out the decisions which the majority has adopted. In connection with this question, in 1966, Kardelj

said the following: "With respect to the question of democratic acceptance of decisions in the LC, we must, of course, start from the fact that in the LC, the majority makes the decisions; the members, who are not in agreement with the opinion accepted by the majority for individual questions, must be loyal to this decision. However, they would probably have to change the viewpoints they hold then in order for all to carry out what the majority had decided on. As a principle, it would also have to remain in effect in the sense that in the party, we carry out what the majority has decided on. No party member has the right to impede the implementation of decisions that have been adopted; however, we would have to change the fact that we demand of an individual LC member, who has a different opinion, that he change his judgement after the majority has adopted a decisive stand. This cannot be done, as practice also shows. If such people are forced to carry out something that they do not agree with, they will fulfill such decisions poorly, as a rule. Up to now, because we were respecting this principle, we were nurturing an imagined monolithic unity in conformity with the principle and also every personal change which took place in the political leadership because of such disagreement was considered to be a great problem both in Yugoslavia and in other socialist countries..."

The Fundamental Question is: Who Shapes Decisions?

The question of democratic centralism is also a question of organization and methods of operation of central organs, which means the central committees of republics and provinces and also the central committee of the LCY and the interrelationships between the organs and bodies in the center and their relation to the LC membership. When Kardelj speaks about this, he asks, how much of the LC membership participates in the adoption of decisions, and in what way? Actually, Kardelj poses, as a key question: who is the shaper of decisions, who is the shaper of policy in the League of Communists. With a considerable measure of restraint and with numerous reservations, he speaks about the thesis that the central committee alone can be the shaper of this policy. In this connection, he states:

"...What we need the most is to establish direct linkages and to involve all creative social forces, but not only through obcina committees and basic organizations; rather that the most direct linkages possible exist between the centers and the masses--there, where things take place, direck linkage between the LCY Central Committee and the masses, the central committees of the republics and the masses, and the obcina committees and the masses. The hierarchical ladder from the obcina committees to the central committees would have to be changed somewhat.

"In this connection, there is a new question. At a certain place in the materials for this session, it is stated that the Central Committee of the LC is the shaper of policy. Allow me to be dubious of the fact that the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia could be the shaper of policy. In the final analysis, the Central Committee of the LCY, just like every other organ, is the representative of the membership and the

representative of the working class, and of the working people in general. As such it adopts certain decisions and represents what is in the historical interest of the working class and of those social forces at a specific period. Thus, the shaper of policy in our society is also, in great measure, outside the League of Communists. It seems to me that we can speak about the creative force of the LCY Central Committee only to the same degree that it is capable of concentrating within itself the entire creative force of socialist society and if this force is actuated in it..."

Every Communist Has the Capability of Actively Participating in Shaping Decisions and Viewpoints

In view of the fact that the LC member is the basic subject who builds, or, so to speak, shapes policy, and by doing this, consciously shoulders the responsibility for its consistent implementation, the statutes adopted at the 10th and 11th congresses define in detail the position, place, and role of the LC member, his relations with other members, and the relations of the membership in general with the forums, organs, and bodies of the LC. Namely, a member of the LC is assured the kind of position where he can continually and actively participate in the shaping and adoption of decisions and viewpoints on all levels and in all areas of operation of the league. The statute adopted at the 11th congress, however, also demands the kind of democratic method of preparation and adoption of viewpoints in the League of Communists that is based on scientific knowledge, free expression of opinions, and the confrontation and battle of opinions in equal democratic and principled discussions, which makes it impossible to force the will of cliques or a minority.

An LC member has the right and possibility to defend his opinion, if he remains in the minority, as a matter of opinion or proposal, but he is obliged to accept and implement decisions that were adopted by the majority; however, the right to defend his own opinion for a member does not mean that he would be able to act in such a way as to impede the united action of the League of Communists in the implementation of the decisions that were adopted by the majority. The statute, thus, calls such activity a form of clique formation and faction creation. If, during the course of discussion and decision making, a member of an organization, organ or forum maintains his own opinion, he is obliged to explain it. A member of the league is independent in initiative, and in creativity in socio-political and ideological action on the basis of the program, statute, and policy of the LC.

Aside from this, the principles of democratic centralism, which define the position of the member of the league and his relations with the organization, forums, and other organs are essential. These are: the continuous influence of the membership on the program of work, functioning, and content of the decisions of elected organs; the direct responsibility of elected organs, which operate independently and collectively within the scope of their functions; their members are collectively and individually responsible for their work before the elective body; constant ideological-political, action

and organizational linkage, intercommunications and mutual responsibility for the results of the work of organizations, forums, and organs, of the narrower and broader parts of the organization, and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia as a whole; the establishment and development of a system of political intercommunications, which makes it possible for the membership, organizations, forums, and organs to be continually in the mainstream of socio-political events and ideological-political activity of the LC; the assurance of help to the membership and basic organizations on the part of the organs of the LC; the development of systems of continuous and direct democratic communication with socio-political and social organizations, delegations, and self-management organizations and groups; the openness of the work and open ideological political activity of members of all organizations, forums, and organs of the league.

The Role of Republic and Province Organs of the LC

The following aspects of democratic centralism in the LCY are also important. First: in the statute adopted at the 11th congress, the principle was advanced that democratic centralism, in function has to be the development of initiative and independence of the League of Communists of the republics and autonomous provinces, and the strengthening of unity of the LCY. Democratic centralism in this function appears for the first time in the statute adopted at the ninth congress. At that time it was stated that the communists of Yugoslavia and their leagues in the socialist republics comprise the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and also, that the leagues of communists of the republics are independent organizations in a unified League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and that they are jointly responsible for the adoption and implementation of the policy of the LCY.

Second: Democratic centralism is the basic form of relations and an important instrument for building the unity of the LCY. For this unity is the foundation "...for important political determinations, for unified ideology, and a politically programmed foundation for the realization of long-range and immediate goals of socialist self-management development, and for the unified principles or organizing communists in the entire state..."

And finally: democratic centralism in the LC is also an essential condition for "...the further self-managed democratic development of our society and the equality of peoples and national minorities, republics, and provinces, for the development and enrichment of the form of delegate and self-management decision making with new democratic and self-management contents, and (is) in the function of self-management agreement and social agreement, the development of unity of the working class, equality and brotherhood and unity of the peoples and national minorities of Yugoslavia..."

The very important questions of implementing democratic centralism in the LC are: the method of internal organization, the content and method of operation of the central committee and the presidium of the LCY Central Committee, the implementation of the functions and rights, responsibilities, and duties of

the members of the central committee and the members of the presidium as well as the methods and forms of cooperation of these organs with republic and province organs of the LC, with socio-political and social organizations, with self-management organs and bodies, and with other self-management and delegate institutions of the system.

The Central Committee and its Presidium are Collective Political Organs

The Central Committee of the LCY is the highest organ of the LCY between two congresses, and the presidium is the political executive organ of the Central Committee. In accordance with this, each of these organs has its own function (scope of operation), duties, and responsibilities. It is worth emphasizing that in reality, we are talking about collective, democratic, political organs, in which all of their members have equal rights and responsibilities for the total work: members of the central committee for the decisions and work of the central committee, presidium members for the work of the presidium. In this regard, the members of the Central committee are responsible to the central committee and the congress of the LCY, and the members of the presidium are responsible for their work directly to the presidium and to the central committee.

Both the central committee and the presidium exercize their functions, which are defined by statute and working rules, at meetings. Both organs can make decisions with full authority, if at least two-thirds of their members are at the meeting. Only in exceptional cases can these organs meet when a majority of their members are present, in which case, at such a meeting of the central committee, members of all the republics and provinces are present, and if there are no members of a specific republic or province at the meeting of the presidium then it is necessary to notify them as soon as possible and to request their opinion and viewpoint on the decisions and viewpoints of the presidium. However, the decisions, viewpoints, and resolutions of the central committee are valid if a majority of the central committee members present declare in favor of it, and the decisions, viewpoints, and resolutions of the presidium are valid if a majority of the members of the presidium declare in favor of it.

The decisions, positions, and resolutions of the central committee and the presidium are equally binding on all of their members, regardless of the opinion which they represented at the meeting. A central committee member or presidium member has the right to a separate opinion with regard to the positions and decisions adopted, which is presented in writing, but in practice, he is obligated to implement the positions and decisions that were adopted.

A member of the presidium is not limited in expressing his critical viewpoints at meetings of the presidium, but he must not carry them into party organizations or to the public, if he does not obtain the agreement of the presidium for this. Besides this, on the basis of the obligations which he has in the presidium, a presidium member does not have the right to accept and must not accept decisions which would bind someone.

The meetings of the central committee and the presidium, as a rule, are public, and this applies as well for their entire work. In conformity with this, the central committee and the presidium acquaint the membership, the LCY organizations, and the public with their evaluations, political resolutions, viewpoints, and decisions. In addition to this, they are obliged to report on their work, meaning, on their activity and action: the central committee to the LCY congress, and the presidium to the central committee.

One of the most vital components of democratic relations in the LC, and of the advancement of the position of LC member as the basic subject, is the entire system of intercommunications and continuous mutual informing on initiatives, proposals, and ideas among the membership and all organs and bodies, as well as between organs and bodies in all fields and at all levels of operation of the League of Communists. The presidium, so to say, is responsible for internal and public information of the membership of the LCY and for informing the public of the current ideological-political questions and activities of the central committee, on its own activity, and the working of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia as a whole.

It is also responsible in the same way for connecting, coordinating, an directing the activity of organizations and organs of the LCY, for dealing with their initiatives and proposals, etc. The central committee is responsible, in addition to the documents of a program and statutory nature, to provide for the discussion in the League of Communists and in public also, all those documents that contain proposals about important changes in LCY policy in specific fields of social life.

The Social Nature of the League of Communists Has Also Changed With the Development of Society

I would not be saying anything new if I state that, simultaneously with our over-all development--social, material, cultural--as well as with the development of relations between our nationalities--there has been an objective change not only in the social situation, but in addition, also, in the social nature of the League of Communists. It arrived at these changes, also, as it wanted to, which is reflected by numerous documents of a program and statutory nature from the fifth congress and thereafter. All in all, this was a component of the general advance of our society, for which the content and direction was the decisive conscious action of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or LCY, which implemented its program goals, both the direct and the historical tasks and goals.

Let me emphasize that in this respect, we are concerned not only with the fact that the League of Communists has broken up personal connections and other forms of ties of the League of Communists and its executive organs with the executive organs of the state and of society as a whole. In this respect, it is most important, in my opinion, that the LC today be able to realize its position of leading ideological and political force of socie[illegible],

only as an internal motivating force in a system of socialist self-management, in a delegate system, in associated labor, in other subjects of our socialist self-management society, in socio-political organizations, etc.

The League of Communists Has Renounced its Function of Power and Monopoly in Decision Making

In this spirit, the LC manifests itself as a new type of socio-political organization, which has consciously renounced its function of decision-making power and monopoly, and which, in essence, is becoming the main initiator and incentive provider for the development of direct socialist democracy.

With its program and its concrete political actions, the LC continues on expressing the interests of the working class as its leading organization, and as its ideological and political vanguard, whose main goal under the current concrete historical conditions is to take a stand and fight for the kinds of forms of political and socio-economic relations in a system of socialist self-management and power of the working class and the working people as a whole, that would make it possible for the working class and the working people to exercise power directly to the greatest degree possible.

Comrade Kardelj in his book "Smeri Razvoja Politicnega Sistema Socialisticnega Samoupravljanja" [Directions of Development of a Political System of Socialist Self-Management], speaks of the fact that our political system has broken the strings not only with political pluralism of the bourgeous class, but also with the one party system of the first eras of the socialist revolution, especially with that system, which to a lesser or greater degree is the expression of the dominance of the bureaucratic and technocratic apparatus over the working people and mankind as a whole, which also inspired certain sociologists, such as Lefevre, to name such a system "an etatist method of production."

Kardelj thinks that the solution for the further development of our democratic political system of socialist self-management is the gradual dominance of pluralism of political monopolies and the implementation of a truly self-managed political pluralism, so to say, the pluralism of authentic self-managed interest, self-managed subjects, of both partial and general social interests.

It is a fact, says Kardelj, that our society is neither monolithic nor amorphous; it is an interweaving of socially and historically-conditioned differentiated interests in conditions of public ownership of means of production.

Different Interests and Conflicts Also Spring Up in the Development of a Socialist Society

At the 11th congress, we officially acknowledged and publicized the fact that it is not just the remnants of the old society that are the cause of numerous difficulties, problems, and even conflicts in our society, rather, that the

development of a socialist society also gives rise to misunderstandings and conflicts, which, among other things, derive also from the degree of social division of labor that has been achieved, from the facts that also in our society, various self-management interests, or, so to say, various interests appear and are in action objectively, between producers and processors of raw materials, workers in material production and in social activities, etc.

Political pluralism in essence means a struggle for power, a struggle for monopoly. The pluralism of socialist self-management interests, which is a real fact present in our society, means first and foremost, different self-management tendencies, and also different forms of struggle for development, and economic, cultural, national and over-all social development. The variety of interests persists, both in associated labor and in the system of social reproduction, and generally, in various fields of creativity, in science, and in ideology on the whole, says Comrade Kardelj.

We Must Search for Common Social Interests in the Variety of Interests

If the LC comprehended this fact, then it understood it mainly to the effect that it is in this variety of socialist self-management interests that it is necessary to search constantly for the common social interests, which are, both for the League of Communists and for our society, the solutions for determining the strategy of economic, social, political, and cultural development of society as a whole. All of this means that the League of Communists, along a democratic path, through a socialist self-management system, in the LC and in other socio-political organizations--here, I mainly mean the Socialist Alliance--must unceasingly search and ascertain the common social interests, it must search out ways and means for determining what at a specific time is most appropriate for our self-management community, what is most important, and, in line with this, what is most progressive. It must also ascertain, if you wish, the terms for the implementation of the partial interests of socio-political communities or self-managed interest communities, and other self-managed subjects, which for one or another reason cannot be satisfied at a given moment, but are positive, useful, and very necessary for one or another self-managed subject. Here, it is necessary to have a confrontation for the purpose also of selecting those interests that are the most important at a specific moment.

Only a Democratic Road Can Lead to a Coordination of Interests

From a theoretical standpoint, the general common interest does not exist without individual, partial interests. What this means is that individual interest can be realized in reality only if it is coordinated with other individual interests, and if their progressive synthesis, in this example, then manifests itself in the form of general, common interest. Only a single road leads to this coordination, to this synthesis--the democratic road! Every other road leads to the dominance of one or another individual interest, and as its final results leads to social violence, and with this also, to social conflicts and crises, and then finally to social

with this also, to social conflicts and crises, and then finally to social stagnation.

We talk about all of this in all of our society, every day, so to speak, mainly now, when we are preparing ourselves for the next 5-year plan, when we are discussing the relations between the developed and the undeveloped, and also, many other situations that are well known to us all.

Most important in this respect is the fact that in our system, we acknowledge only understandings and agreements as a method of solving conflicts of socialist self-management interests. Of course, we also have included in our constitution, the proviso that when we are unable to reach a solution through an agreement or understanding, we accept a decision on a solution with the so-called provisional measures of the SFRY Presidency.

This means also, that self-management democracy is not a synonym for what Kardelj calls ideal harmony. Quite to the contrary, it demands a democratic battle of opinions, and unceasing constructive criticism of practices, during which the direct confrontation of differing interests comes to the fore. When we speak about this, I think that it is worth pointing out a certain fact again. A great majority of differing socialist self-management interests does not really mean the "politicalization" of these interests, since in essence, they express a drive toward development, toward improvement, toward progress. This is so mainly for the reason that the great majority of conflicts do not occur because of relations between people, since all are for socialist self-management, for socialism--so that I can say--all are for the main goals of our socialist revolution. In most cases this involves a conflict, which is the result of relations of people to things. Therefore, in reality, it is possible to solve both the great majority of all of these conflicts and the problems in the area of socialist self-management understanding and agreement making.

In Putting Social Matters in Order, No One Must Replace the Self-Management Forces

Because of all of this, the conduct and role of socio-political organizations in the system of socialist self-management democrary are very important. Socio-political organizations, especially the LC, must be capable of assuring democratic methods and forms of solving conflicts of self-management interests, conditions for the free battle of ideas on concrete problems, which means that it is impossible for social matters to be alienated by the self-manager, nor is it possible for them to be transferred to one or another political organization, to one or another center of political power, rather, in reality, they are a component of social activity, of self-management activity of self-managers.

Ideology and Politics Attain a New Role in a Socialist Self-Managed Society

Socio-political organizations, therefore, says Kardelj, must not appear as an expression of general political differentiations, rather, their main role

is the creation of conditions for satisfying specific social needs and interests of a self-managed community of working peoples and citizens, who are the real source of political power and the realizers of this power, Kardelj stresses that ideology and politics shall attain the same kind of place and role in society as science and culture have.

With such a democratic role and democratic methods of their activity, the socio-political organizations, including the LC, can prevent the emergence of new centers of self-contained political, economic, administrative, and all other power alienated from the self-managers, the working people, and the citizens, forces which could be monopolistically forced upon a self-managed society as new or old arbiters.

Because of all of this, the kinds of relations of social-political organizations, especially the LCY, that would exist in society, as well as the relations within the socio-political organizations are very important.

The CPY Created its Power in its Ties with the Masses and All Progressive Social Forces

The LCY is a socio-political organization that exists and operates in a socialist self-management system. In essence, this kind of position of our communist organization has been characteristic of it for more than 50 years already. I am firmly convinced that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia attained the position it holds with the emergence of Tito on the political arena in Yugoslavia (Tito's appearance at the eighth congress of the Zagreb party organization in 1928 was significant), and also during the 1930's, when Kardelj, Kidric, and others appeared, who, together with Tito, worked out a policy, in theory and in practice, of ties to the masses, and to the entire progressive and democratic structure of current society. All of this not only strengthens the party and enables it to begin and to victoriously end the liberation struggle of our peoples and national minorities and to carry through a socialist revolution and to embark along the road of building a new socialist Yugoslavia, but even more, it forces the party objectively, because of the very fact that it exists in the masses and builds its policy on the wants and needs of these masses, well, it is self-evident that it must not dominate in the name of the masses, rather, it has to move along the road of forming the kind of political and economic system, which would make it possible for the working class and the working people to exercise direct power.

Today, the LC is also the political factor that can have decisive influence on the development of society, only when and where the self-management and political activity of the masses is being developed.

Under such conditions of existence and operation of the LC, the principles of organization in the LC are also very important for us. It is totally certain that we can read this also from the statutory documents, especially after the Fifth Congress of the CPY, that the organizational principles of

activity of the League of Communists developed and were adapted to its role in society.

Associated Labor, the Political System of Socialist Self-Management and Democratic Centralism

The social position, the tasks, the operating method, and internal relations in the LCY have always been, and are still being governed by the process and degree of development of the socialist revolution. Thus, in view of the historical role of the LCY as a vanguard political organization of the workers class, the relation between the League of Communists and the socialist revolution in essence, has been a dialectical relation of conditionalities, which the course of our socialist revolution to the present has also proven.

Within the bounds of this dialectical mutual conditionality between the LC and the socialist revolution, the principle of democratic centralism has also developed.

In order to understand the kind of fundamental importance democratic centralism in the LCY has today, and what the direction of the further development of this principle is to be, it is utterly necessary, observing in this case the dialectic relationship mentioned above, to use as a starting point the fundamental characteristics of the current period of socialist revolution, namely, the stage of self-management socialist development at which our society is today.

The theoretical concept and political strategy of associated labor and the political system of socialist self-management and the struggle for the implementation of this strategy means an entry into a new period of development of socialist revolution in Yugoslavia, in which certain fundamental relations in the over-all organization of our socialist self-management society are undergoing decisive change.

The Separation of the Economic Foundation and the Political Superstructure in a Capitalist Society

Among other things, socialism has also inherited the over-all structure of a social organization which was formed by an earlier period of economic formation of society. Within the framework of this over-all structure socialist processes of transformation have been developing for a specific period. The separation of the economic and political sectors of society are characteristic of this structure. This separation of capitalist society was conceived, and then also defined, as the relation between "the bourgeois society" and the "political state" by the great ideologists of the bourgeois period from Thomas Hobbs and John Locke through the French materialists to Hegel, who went the farthest in these concepts. This theoretical heritage was--according to Marx's words in the preface to his "Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy"--a solution, which Marx introduced for the concept of such an over-all organization of a class society, especially, a capitalist

society, in which the economic structure, as a foundation of society, and the political-legal, and the ideological structure, as a superstructure on this foundation, are separate.

This separation meant also completely specific functions of the economic and political spheres. The economic sphere (structure) is the sphere of self-reproduction of capitalist production relations, for it is not capable--in view of the conflicts of contradictory interests, class warfare, and the anarchistic nature of production--to constitute capitalism by itself and to develop it as a relatively stable universal system. Therefore there is need for a political sphere, which assures the constitution and reproduction of capitalism as a society and as the unity of this society, and in such a way that this society becomes the state. This is why Marx also emphasized: "The State is the organization of society."

State Socialism Retains the Separation of Society Into an Economic Sphere and a Political Sphere

In contrast to the elemental cataclysm of conflicts of interest and fractioned, particularized consciousness, which is incapable of rational association or mastery of the entire capitalist society in the economic sphere, conscientious and organized activity is possible in capitalism only as a political activity, "for the self-confident activity is concentrated in a political act," as Marx writes in "Contribution to the Jewish Question." (For that reason, there is also the great idea of enlightened rationalism, that through reason, it was possible to gain control of society, and to end in bourgeois revolutions as in political revolutions, and finally, in state capitalism.) Although young Marx in his "Criticism of Hegel's Philosophy of State Law" stressed the need for eliminating the separation of society into an economic and a political sphere, although he himself, Engels, and Lenin were clear as to the need for the withering away of the state, Marxist thought (tradition) for a long time considered, and even today, a significant part of Marxist thoughts considers, that the socialist solution of this problem lies in the fact that it is possible, with the help of the state and the entire political sphere, to overcome the elemental cataclysm of production and the conflicts between interests in the economic sphere. This means and this requires the maintenance of the division of society into two spheres, and this very reality is maintained, in which economics remains without internal conscious management of the production process, and the collective social conscience (mind) is concentrated in political activity and in political institutions, but, as Marx would have said, in the state and in the party, and therefore, a state on the basis of such a separation, with its interventions into the economy, would manage the production process, whereas the direction and content of the revolutionary transformation would be assured by the direct leading role of the party, which of necessity leads to etatization and the strengthening of bureaucratic and technocratic relations and forces.

Such a solution to the problem of the dualism of society in essence continues to be a bourgeois solution, which is implemented in practice on the whole

in state capitalism. This solution means that a society, socialist in this case, is constituted and developed as a whole through a political sphere, with political unity, with political pluralism, and in line with this, with an appropriate multiparty or single-party system of political life.

Marx: Economic Emancipation of the Worker is the Final Goal of the Socialist Revolution

It is true, that socialism has to begin to develop in such political forms and in such a universal organization, if I summarize what Marx said, that new political forms would develop in which it is possible to realize the process of economic emancipation of labor, along with which, these new forms lose their political likeness (articulation). The beginning and the development of the process of emancipation of labor demands final liberation from the fetters of bourgeois relations and the elimination of the society-state, economic-political sphere relations. In this, young Marx already found the problem and the solution: When it begins its organized activity, when its self-purpose, its soul manifests itself, there, society casts aside the political mantle." (M. E. D., 3, 174). Marx clearly noted the self-purpose of socialism that is in the statute of the International: "Economic emancipation of the workers is the great goal, to which a political movement must be subordinated as a means." (M. E. D., 27, 430).

"The economic emancipation of the workers" is the essential historical task of our socialist revolution. The seizure (taking over) of power from the bourgeoisie and the implementation and development of the political power of the workers class is only a necessary condition for this historical task, for the revolution, the basic subject (subject-object) is work and no longer power.

Decision-Making on Expanded Reproduction Signifies Economic Emancipation of the Working Class

With the development of socialist self-management, we arrived at such an understanding a long time ago in our country. Comrade Tito's wish for the workers to make decisions on expanded reproduction, which was expressed at the fifth trade union congress in 1964, and defined in greater detail in Tito's speech at the Eighth Congress of the LCY in December of that same year, had, and still has, the very meaning of economic emancipation, and along with this, total emancipation of the working class. In 1963, Comrade Kardelj defined the implication of this wish as a strategic decision, clearly from a theoretical standpoint in his work "Nova Ustava" New Constitution. "For Marx, as well as for Lenin," states Kardelj," the process of withering away of the state would have to take place in such a way that the state would gradually, so to say, fuse with the production relations from which it had come, and that in them,--under conditions of a communist society--it would vanish as a force of authority and power." Thus, mainly because of the conditions of the political forces, in the 1963 Constitution, we preserved dualism in the over-all social organization. According to this constitution,

society itself is based simultaneously on two foundations: the work organization--economic sphere; the socio-political community--the political sphere. When Kardelj spoke about the 1963 Constitution, he emphasized in connection with this: "Therefore, that Constitution, although it opened wide the road to self-management of working people and the peoples and the national minorities of Yugoslavia, it could not completely break all the strings tying it to the socio-economic, political, and state system, which arose on the foundation of state-ownership relations." Vladimir Bakaric also wrote about this dualism of social organization on the basis of the 1963 Constitution.

The Delegate System is Not only an institution of the Political System, But Also a Relation of Associated Labor

Only the concept and practice of associated labor and the political system of socialist self-management, with the delegate system, with the help of which the political system is taken out of associated labor--for, as certain of our political experts write, the delegate system is not only an institution of the political system, but also it is a relation of associated labor, with which the process of integration of the economic and political spheres is indicated, will supplant,--although at a future time, for an entire stage of revolution--the dualism of the economic and political sphere, drawing an entire social organization from labor, from a process of emancipating labor. In short, the relations and principles of production activity become the constituent factors of an over-all social organization. On one occasion, Marx said that society will not solve its problems until it begins to orbit about the sun of labor. This very thing is beginning to take place, and is becoming the practice and reality during the current, so-called contemporary stage of our revolution.

The Concept of Associated Labor Sets Up Production as the Foundation of Society as a Whole

On the basis of the concept and practice of associated labor, a certain society is being constituted and is developing for the first time in history out of what until now was the most important thing in every society-meaning, out of production activity. Thus, currently, this activity is becoming a foundation for emancipation--instead of being a foundation for exploitation.

In view of their epochal, historical role, as I would call it, associated labor and the political system of socialist self-management are changing numerous social relations and principles existing to date on which the socialist society as a whole was constituted and did develop, first and foremost, those relations and principles that relate to the linkage of labor with the whole, and the individual with the common. In this intertwining, the principle of democratic centralism also comes under the influence to associated labor and the political system of socialist self-management, to a measure wherein the LC is a constituent element of our socialist self-managed society.

The principle of democratic centralism is a political principle, a principle of the political structure of society and of political organizations, a principle, which, in a political structure, if we implement it strictly as democratic centralism, assures a realistically possible level of political freedoms in a certain organized, structured whole: a movement, a party, a society as a state. From this standpoint, its solution is found in bourgeois political democracy. Its elements and foundations are in essence defined already in J. J. Rousseau's "Contrat Social."

We Shall Apply the Principles of Democratic Centralism Not Only in the League of Communists

In view of the decisive historical role of the CPY or LCY in the development of our society to date and in regard to the necessity for a political role and function of the dictatorship of the proletariat in this development, the principle of democratic centralism in our postwar development was that principle with which we organized to a considerable degree also the relations between the components and the whole in our socialist community--meaning also within the CPY or LCY--thus, in the socio-political organization of our society, which is the social community.

In doing so, we coordinated the principle of democratic centralism with the federal structure of our community, and it was the principle in the function of realizing the unity, equality, and self-management of republics and provinces within the framework of the socialist federal Yugoslav community. In this light, the use of this principle in practice and its coordination with the federal structure and our society were important and continue to be important.

Firstly, the equality of republics and provinces did not permit, and to this day does not permit, any kind of majority dominance with respect to the adoption of decisions within the framework of the federation on the basis of a simple majority-minority ratio. Our entire policy and practice of full equality of the peoples and national minorities have led to the principle of social agreement and consensus, which conditions the agreement process itself, even before the introduction of associated labor, the principle of self-management agreement and social agreement were implemented as the predominating institutions in the organization of both vertical and horizontal relations in a social organization.

Secondly, the coordination of the principles of democratic centralism with the federal structure of our community affects the content and range of the questions on which unity on the federation level has to be reached. The number of these questions had already been limited even before the latest constitution to those questions which affect the strategy of development of the socialist revolution, the system of social relations, and the defense of this system and of the security of society.

From the beginning of our socialist revolution, we have introduced and are implementing the principle of socialist solidarity, in our community along with the principle of democratic centralism.

The Principles of Self-Management Agreement, Social Agreement, and Income Are the Guiding Factors in Our Political System

Thus, associated labor and the political system of socialist self-management are introducing three additional principles into our socialist practice, which are becoming dominant, both in the vertical and horizontal linkage of social subjects, and in the coordination of relations between individual, community and general interests. These are: the principle of self-management agreement, the principle of social agreement, and the principle of income, or income relations, including, also, past labor and the role of past labor. These principles are known, therefore, let me point our their most important characteristics in connection with the aforenoted changes in the over-all social organization.

Self-management agreement is the free agreement of self-managed subjects, which is derived from the labor and activity of the subjects, and affects labor and their activity. This is an agreement of equal subjects, and therefore, we reach it on the basis of mutual accord of their desires and interests, in such a way as to exclude a majority-minority relationship. In self-management agreement, the interests of the self-managed and social subjects are not confronted as political interests, meaning, interests which had previously been transformed into political interests through the system of political representation. Self-management agreement is the direct confrontation of the interests of working people as self-management interests, and, if we can say so, the original, direct confrontation of workers and working people in general, without prior politicization of these interests. Self-management agreement is therefore an expression of the pluralism of self-management interests. This is an area where we are already removing the division of society into economic and political spheres, since the working people, as producers--and thus not as citizens any more--are becoming self-management subjects, who themselves are organizing their relations.

The principle of income relations in the linkage of self-management and social subjects, and in the organization of relations between the parts and the whole, continue to give more emphasis to labor and to the results of labor as the basis of these linkages. As far as income is concerned, meaning, the results of labor achieved on the market, the income relations also introduce an objective element into the communications of the producer-self-manager, and this means a correction of possible voluntarism.

Consequently, in horizontal and vertical linkages of self-management subjects, and in the way that we organize the relations between the individual and the common in our socialist community during the current period of its development, four basic principles are also in operation: the principle of self-management agreement, the principle of social agreement, the principle of income relations, and the principle of socialist solidarity.

Within the sphere, in which the LC, with the activity of its members, organizations, and leaderships, cooperates in the decision making in all cells of

society and at all levels of social organization, and in implementing decisions, so to say, in the measure in which it operates inside the system itself, the principle of democratic centralism, and its application is confronted with the four aforenoted principles, which operate in our entire self-management community. This confrontation has the indisputable nature of mutual action, interaction, and also the kind of action in which self-management agreement, social agreement, income relations, and socialist solidarity acquire an ever greater predominating role in total socialist development.

At this point, I will not delve deeper into these problems, mainly since our theoretical thinking has not elucidated them sufficiently as yet. I want to point out that we must not deliberate over the principle of democratic centralism in the LCY and over its continued development, with respect to the role that the LC has in our socialist development, external to the development of our socialist community as a whole, which also means, outside the context of the principles, which connect self-management and social subjects, and settle the problems of relations between the parts and the whole inside of it, both horizontally and vertically.

Therefore, let me point out in a few words the essential condition of all of these principles, with the course, results, and goals of our socialist revolution, especially with its class nature.

The Leading Ideological and Political Role of the LCY Assures the Stability of Our Society

The class nature of our socialist revolution continues to be assured by the dictatorship of the proletariat, comprehended and implemented in accordance with the system of socialist self-management and socialist democracy. This was thusly best defined by Comrade Kardelj in his speech at the opening of the "Josip Broz Tito" Political School of the LCY in Kumrovec. On this occasion, he explained the dialectic of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy, and, speaking about the conditions that are necessary for the implementation of the vanguard role of the LCY, he said:

"...The working class, headed by the League of Communists and together will all creative socialist forces, must not overlook the fact that we, so to say, live in conditions in which, to a certain sense, there will always be the dilemma: 'Who will be who.' Therefore, the first and decisive condition of all advance of socialism, and especially of the further development of socialist democracy continues to be the assurance of such a balance of power of social forces that would make possible freedom of socialist action for the working class and for all socialist forces, and also, along with the leading ideological and political role of the LC, without which we cannot provide for the stability of socialist society and the political system under the current conditions of struggle for the advancement of socialist self-management. The provision of such a balance of power of social forces that would make possible freedom of action of the working class,' is in reality, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"It is worth recognizing here that the dictatorship of the proletariat under conditions of associated labor and the political system of socialist self-management removes the political constraints and is self-based and implemented more and more on its own in the process of association, which is associated labor."

In September 1962 still, when he spoke about the draft of the new constitution in the Federal Assembly, Edvard Kardelj said: "According to Marx, the working class must organize itself as a state. Then the very process of associated labor and reproduction--fundamentally speaking--must become the framework of protection of society and the executor of authority and statehood as an instrument of social compulsion. In this also, is the deepest social content of Marx's thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In the process of associating labor, "the very process of associated labor and reproduction" puts the working class into the kind of socio-economic position that reproduces its leading role in society; in this way it is implemented and confirmed as the basic subject of socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat gradually removes political limits and becomes implemented into the entire organization of a self-management socialist society, and in this way also, it shows its deepest essence, with which, at the same time, possibilities for its final elimination also come into being.

Democratic Centralism in the League of Communists Today

The viewpoints of the LC with respect to the principles and essence of relations in its organizations and organs, and among these, with respect to the principle of organization and the total activity of the LCY, were very clearly spelled out by Comrade Tito, also at the 11th Congress of the LCY, when he said: "Democratic centralism will continue to be the basic principle of internal relations, organization, and over-all activity of the LCY in the future as well. This principle guarantees the broadest democracy in the formation of policy and in accepting decisions along with the closest unity in implementing these decisions."

I would be glad just to point out certain cases because of which it is necessary, today, no less than in the past, both in our theory and social practice as well as in the documents and work of the organizations and organs of the LC, for us to deal with questions that affect the essence of the principle of democratic centralism and the implementation of this principle.

The Guidance of the LCY: Nothing Is so Good That it Could Not be Better

The first reason this stems from our fundamental stand in the LCY program, the basis of which, there is nothing that could not be even better.

Secondly, our constant need is for us to study and evaluate, comprehensively and critically, the experience and the knowledge of the significance and nature of the essence of the principle of democratic centralism, which we

are acquiring in the day-to-day practice of the organizations and organs of the LC and in our theoretical and scientific thought.

Third, the ever more dynamic socio-economic, ideological-political, cultural-educational and other relations and the conditions of the development of our society and the contemporary world make possible and demand the constant development and supplementation of the methods and forms of building ideological-political positions and the organization and revolutionary social action of organizations and organs of the LC and of all subjective socialist forces.

Fourth, because of various circumstances, a failure to understand individual aspects, and also the principles of democratic centralism as a whole occurs among individual members and organs of the LC and of other factors of our socialist revolutionary movement.

And finally, variously motivated, open or concealed distortion and deformation of the essence of democratic centralism are concerned here, which are closely tied to the various forms of opposition to the program goals and policy of the LCY, and, together with this also, to the principles of its ideological-political, organizational, and action strength, its structure, and its revolutionary action.

In consideration of all of this and of the constant need for the further strengthening and intensification of the historical achievements of our socialist revolution and its political, social, and human values, as well as the role and the task that the LCY has in this regard, I wish to direct your attention to certain questions which are still especially important, in my opinion.

The Strength of Yugoslavia is in the Ideas That Inspire Us and in the Goals for Which We are Fighting

In his address to the 11th LCY Congress, Comrade Tito, on the basis of Marxist analysis of our most recent socio-economic and political development, stated that "...socialist, self-managed, and independent Yugoslavia has a firm and lasting foundation, a reliable support for its future.." There are more factors, because of which socialist Yugoslavia is strong and which guarantee further advance in the implementation and development of socialist self-management relations. This strength, stresses Comrade Tito, is..."in ideas, which inspire us, and in the goals for which we fight...in the working class and its decisive role in society...in the young generation...in the socialist self-management system...in the broad front of organized socialist forces with the LC at the fore, vanguards not only by virtue of ideological decisions and rich revolutionary experiences, but also by virtue of the capabilities of opening the way and the prospects for further development."

The history of the revolutionary-class and national-liberation struggle, which the CPY or LC waged during all of its stages, shows clearly that the

ideological-political and action capability and the implementation of this struggle were greater to the extent that ideological-political unity of the CPY or LCY was greater. Revolutionary unity in fundamental ideological-political positions and in the practical actions of communists was that much greater proportional to the depth and the thoroughness with which the CPY or LCY reflected the interests and goals of the working class and all working people, and proportional to the exactness with which it was built on the principles of democratic centralism. Of course, we communists did not view their ideological-political and action unity as some goal per se for us no more than the principles of democratic centralism are any goal per se for us.

We may ask, why does the League of Communists of Yugoslavia fight for its ideological-political, organizational, and action unity so steadfastly and or in such organized manner in all of its history, in connection with the very principle of democratic centralism? Of course, there are many reasons from the standpoint of both principles and practical matters.

The Basic Goals of All our Working People are the Same

First, with its Program and entire policy and practical activity, the LC has clearly determined and resolutely struggles for the realization of the material and social interests and the goals of our working class and all working people. In their essence, the current and future interests and goals of the working class and working people, of all our peoples and national minorities, are primarily the same. The revolutionary ideological-political and action unity of the LCY has a firm class historical foundation in the achievements and the values of our socialist revolution. This foundation is, as the statute of the LCY emphasizes, "...in the long range interests and goals of the working class, of all our peoples and national minorities, which we are achieving with the struggle for the development of socialist-self-management, in the interests and decisions of all our peoples and national minorities, to guarantee their free socialist development, equality, fraternity, and unity in the Yugoslav multinational community; in their common interest in strengthening the freedom, sovereignty, independent socialist self-management development, the international position, and the nonaligned policy of socialist Yugoslavia, and for peace in the world..."

The LCY is Struggling for the Realization of the Long-Range Goals of the Working Class

For this reason also the LCY, as a revolutionary and unified organization, and the leading ideological-political force of the working class and of all working people, is organizing and operating on unified organizational principles and is struggling for the realization of the common direct and historical interests of the working class and working people. Thus, in his address at the 11th congress, Comrade Tito emphasized: "...The ideological-political and action unity of the LC on the bases of democratic centralism, as it has been up to now, and will also be in the future, a guarantee of

our successes and victories; this is a decisive condition for the further development of socialist self-management and for the strengthening of equality, fraternity, and unity of the peoples and national minorities of Yugoslavia..."

Second, the consistent successful development of socialist self-management production relations in individual areas of self-managed associated labor, as well as in associated labor as a whole, and the development of relations between socio-political and national communities on the basis of the Constitution of the SFRY and the program and action determinations of the LCY, can be guaranteed primarily and solely with unified revolutionary activity of conscious social forces. For such activity of these forces, two conditions are crucial: The first is scientific-Marxist grounding of the strategy and practical policy of the LCY and of other organized socialist forces, and their action capability, in order to carry it out also. The other condition is the implementation of the kinds of methods and forms of activity of the LC, which would make possible and lead to where "...the LCY would have to be...," as Edvard Kardelj writes in "Smeri Razvoja Politicnega Sistema" [Directions of Development of a Political System], "...everywhere that the self-management and political activity of the masses is developing..." for, "...the history of the CPY gives us many proofs..." emphasizes Edvard Kardelj in the same work,"...that it was successful in its revolutionary action only when it knew how to use its policy and its activity to find the way to the broadest masses of the working people, and when it knew how to tie itself in with the entire progressive and democratic structure of society." Today also, this tying in can be achieved only "...with the kind of daily and varied action that will simultaneously correspond with the various interests of a complicated organism, not just of society as a whole, but also of concrete working people and their individual self-management communities..."

Third, the operation and development of our socio-economic and political system, based on the self-management of working people and citizens and on the delegations of self-managed communities in associated labor and in other areas of social work and creativity, cannot be possible objectively without the directing, cohesive, and creative role of the LC in the system itself. "...Such a democratic social responsibility of the LC...," stresses Kardelj, "...will undoubtedly strengthen and develop, also, its internal democracy on the basis of the principle of true democratic centralism..."

Our practical experience and theoretical knowledge show that the LC can be the leading force of our society only if it is capable of "...looking far ahead, if it is capable of indicating the ways of development that are objective and historically necessary, meaning, if it is the most progressive and the most dynamic creative force of society, both in the area of theory and ideology and in the area of social practice, or the application of this theory and ideology in practice..." Only if it fights consistently, democratically, and effectively for socialist self-management and for the over-all advancement of our country, jointly with the workers, with all working people, and within a self-management socialist system "...will the LC become one of

the indispensible cohesive forces, and a vital component of the self-management of working people, an internal motivating force of various interests of self-managed communities, expressed in the delegate system..."

Base Your Work on the Essence of Marxism and Give Answers to the Real Social Problems

Our strategical and practical political directions in social relations and in the political system, in which numerous--and also quite varied--self-management interests are expressed freely, confronted democratically, and resolved through self-management by means of agreements, require great revolutionary and creative capacity, political responsibility and effectiveness in practice of the LC. The LC will be able to do this successfully, only if the content of its work is based on the essence of Marxism, on the achievements and values of our socialist revolution and socialist self-management structure, and if in doing so, it bases itself on the real problems of the working people and our entire society, and if it is built from an organizational and an action standpoint on the principles of democratic centralism.

Fourth, in our fundamental decision making on the nature of relations between communists, in basic organizations and organs of the LC and between them, on the methods of organization and operation of the LC, until now, there were no major disagreements and difficulties, as the documents of the LC show. The unanimously adopted positions and principles on internal relations, organization, and operation of the LC have had their validity proved in the process of their practical realization.

Our socialist self-managed democracy cannot be implemented in narrower, or primarily, even, in broader organizations and communities, if we do not implement self-management unity of real needs and goals in a timely manner, and if we do not put into practice the interests and progressive desires of the mass of socialist self-managed subjects, unitedly, through agreements, and with responsibility.

Democratic Centralism is a Method of Vanguard Action of the LCY

Only the kind of revolutionary and critical-creative organization, such as the LC, which is built on the principles of democratic centralism, can be an internal motivating and cohesive force of pluralism of self-managed interests. "...In relations with the subjects of socialist self-management...," stresses the statute of the LCY, "...the LC acts as the leading ideological-political force, and not as an executor of political monopoly, partnership, and competition, which together with these subjects, guarantees the revolutionary development of the system of socialist self-management, and helps to find a way for the solution of problems of the development of associated labor, and opens up the prospects for the struggle of the working class and working people for an ever freer development of society on the bases of socialist self-management..."

Fifth, democratic centralism as a whole, and in individual aspects, as it is conceived and implemented by the LCY, is the concrete dialectical unity of democracy and centralism. It expresses the dialectic interweaving of various, even contradictory objective conditions, interests, and perceptions of numerous subjects of our social development which exist or are reflected in the relations in the working class and in the LC. For this reason, democratic centralism, theoretically and practically, is a system of principles well tested in practice, and suitable means for readying the vanguard of the working class in the present and coming periods of the socialist revolution.

The voluntary, conscious decision for organized struggle to implement the program goals and the policy of the LC, obligates the LC member to cooperate, through reason and with resolve in the ideological-political and theoretical discussions and in the battle of opinions. The goal lies, first and foremost, in arriving at the most complete possible perceptions, and with the help of these, to the most appropriate possible positions and decisions as well. This requires confrontation through discussion of opinions and proposals, which are contrary to the basic orientation and policy of the LC. The open and well-discussed expression of one's own opinion and viewpoints and the needed comparison with the practical actions is the greatest impediment to chronic criticism, demagogy, and politicking. Therefore the LC is decisively in favor of well-discussed, creative criticism, as well as of the implementation of the stand from the resolution of the 11th LCY Congress, according to which, "...a communist must not be called to task for public and well-discussed criticism in a basic organization or in some organ of the LC of Yugoslavia"...nor for advocating the stand that it is the right and duty of an LC member, "to give proposals for the revision of adopted stands and decisions in responsible party organs, if it is judged that they have not proved out in practice."

Self-Management Democracy Necessitates the Responsibility of Every Member of Society Toward Himself and Toward Others

Socialist self-managed democracy, which we have decided in favor of, and which we are building, makes possible, assumes, and demands the responsibility of every member of society to himself and to others. Only under conditions of socialist self-management democracy, is it possible for an individual, organization, or organ to be consciously responsible for their viewpoints and practical activity.

Sixth, only in conditions of real freedom of opinions and conscious responsibility of communists, is it possible for a minority to emerge in the process of preparing, adopting, and implementing decisions and stands. Democratic centralism makes it possible for us to unanimously adopt the stands and decisions of or an organization or of organs, and to implement them in practice unitedly. This is a proof of full implementation of the essence of democratic centralism. Thus, whenever we do not adopt stands and decisions unanimously, a minority emerges in the organization or in the organs

of the LC. From the standpoint of readying the LC for action and for success in it, the following questions are important: how will the minority behave in practice toward the stands and decisions of the majority, and how will the majority behave toward the minority?

The stand of the LC on this question is indisputable. "The decisions and positions, which the majority adopts," emphasizes Comrade Tito at the 11th LCY Congress, "becomes the law for every communist, even for one who may have had a contrary opinion. He can maintain his opinion, but in practice, he must carry out the decision of the majority. Any other behavior would lead to clique formation and factionalism, and to the shattering of the unity of the LC of Yugoslavia." Experiences from the practice of organizations and organs of the LC also show, that a minority behaves in very different ways. In a specific case, it becomes involved in the realization of the positions and decisions of the majority. In another case, it acts as a passive observer, or adapts to the dominant position, whereas in a third case, it opposes the implementation of the adopted decisions and positions either secretly or openly.

Free Discussion and a Well-Discussed Battle of Opinions Are a Condition of Forming the Best Solution

From the practice of the LCY, we know several basic kinds of minorities. Let me point out the nature and the significance of some of them. Members of the basic organizations or organs of the LCY differ with one another in view of the level of their general, professional and Marxist education, in regard to their place and role in the division of labor, in regard to the level and quality of their experiences in work and life, and so forth, and these differences grow as the number of organizations and organs increases. Under conditions of free discussion, it is quite normal that the members cannot always accept the ideas, opinions and proposals of some people, so the proposers remain in the minority. A minority in the stage of a free, comradely search for the best solution is a working minority and it is a completely normal occurrence in a democratic and revolutionary organization. The LCY resolutely advocates a free and well discussed expression of viewpoints and proposals and for their democratic confrontation with others, of course, from the standpoint of the program directions and the policy of the LCY. This also is a condition for being able to adopt the best positions and decisions and for all the members to fully engage themselves in implementing them.

The Revolutionary Movement Must Create the Conditions for a Search for New Ideas

In revolutionary practice, the decisions concerning program and strategy, those representing a stage and those of a current nature are intertwined with the goals and tasks of the LCY.

While they are arising and are being implemented in conformity with the essence and principles of democratic centralism, individuals or groups appear

with new ideas and positions as compared with the adopted ones. It depends on various circumstances whether the majority will accept the new ideas and positions. The revolutionary movement must create conditions for the development of creative efforts and for the search for new ideas and solutions. Long and great efforts, renunciations and sacrifices are sometimes needed for the majority to accept what is new and revolutionary. If those advocating the new ideas and positions, despite their conviction concerning the significance of these do not meet with understanding on the part of the majority, a covert or overt opposition to the majority may arise or a faction may be created. In the latter case, usually this leads to organizational and action exclusive of the minority and to the creation of a new organization.

The appearance of organizational minorities in the party, as is shown by the experiences of the contemporary workers movement, leads as a rule to greater or lesser conflicts, which particularly applies in those cases where there are differences in ideological-political positions. It is the constant need and duty of a revolutionary party to examine from the standpoint of the interests of the workers class and the positions of Marxism, in good time, with discussion and criticism, the aspirations and occurrences which affect these minorities and the reasons for their existence and their ideological-political aims and purposes. The minorities--including those of an organizational nature--more frequently appear in the process of the practical implementation of the positions and decisions of the party. If they arise as an expression and a result of a creative analysis and of concrete circumstances and if their positions are in accord with the program directions and the current policy of the party, the minorities can contribute to the revolutionary movement. Otherwise, they lead to the destruction of the urgently needed action unity of the socialist forces and cause political damage, in the same way as political damage is caused by those who advocate dogmatic views in the struggle of opinions in various circumstances and environments.

Seventh, one-biased and erroneous perception or the negation of the values of democratic centralism have been appearing in the party and the workers movement, but especially outside both of them. Although these phenomena showed up under different circumstances and although their motives and aims were different, they also have been an indicator of certain crisis situations in the party and in the socialist movement and a consequence of stagnation and loss of bearings in the movement of the revolution and in the building of socialism.

Those Who Denied the Values of Democratic Centralism at the Same Time Denied the Achievements of the Revolution and the Unity of Yugoslavia

In the most recent period of our socialist development, attempts to deny the values of democratic centralism have been a sure sign of the strengthening of those forces that wished to check or to negate the significant achievements of our socialist revolution and to deny the unity of material and social interest and the aims of the workers class and the working people, the peoples and national minorities of socialist self-managing Yugoslavia. This also

has been shown in the negation of the need for a united ideological-political direction of social development, of the need for united political institutions and organization or for revolutionary actions.

The most varied biased views or negation of the significance of democratic centralism in most cases are of a liberal-petty bourgeois, bureaucratic-dogmatic or nationalistic nature both in content and in ideological-political orientation.

The liberal-petty bourgeois viewpoint tries to negate the worth and significance of democratic centralism, alleging that it denies a LC member the freedom to assert his self-managing rights. They also claim that it is not in harmony with the democracy. However, experiences show that only the consistent employment of the principle of democratic centralism in internal party life [paragraph continues] in all the stages of the formation and realization of positions and decisions enables an LCY member, and its organizations and organs to work as revolutionary subjects of the building of socialist self-management and as a cohesive motivating force of the overall development of the country. Free expression of individual ideas and desires of every member, organization and organ of the LCY and their free, democratic confrontation and ideopolitical and action unification increases the influence and practical effects of their activity many times. That is precisely what various petty bourgeois liberals and others who oppose socialist self-management and a revolutionary transformation of the society do not want.

Yugoslav Communists Have Always Fought Against Bureaucratic-Dogmatic Tendencies

Bureaucratic-dogmatic tendencies and perceptions of democratic centralism have, in fact, prevailed in the history of the workers movement, and I believe that I am not wrong if I claim that the Yugoslav communists, regardless of how the principles of democratic centralism were officially or otherwise set forth in statutory documents, were the first who in their daily practice, in their life among the people before the revolution, during the revolution and immediately after it in particular, began to oppose such tendencies subjectively and objectively. It is especially necessary to draw attention to the fact that nothing else could be possible in view of the role which the Yugoslav Communist Party consciously determined for itself within the masses and among the masses and which the LCY has consistently developed in accordance with the role that it defined for itself and which it plays in the socialist self-management system.

Such a development of understanding of democratic centralism has undoubtedly produced ideological and political incentives from the struggle that our party waged with the Cominform, from its own experiences gained in the struggle against deformations and deviations that appeared also in our country and which were specifically discussed at the fourth plenum at Brioni in 1966. The danger of bureaucratic-dogmatic tendencies still exists objectively. In view of the position and role which our party has played and is playing in society and which is objectively conditioned by the level of social development, the domestic and foreign situation in which we are building socialist

self-managing relations, and in view of the problems of an economic, political and, not the least, ideological nature, problems that result from our development, such tendencies are understandable to a certain extent because in practical political life, many people believe that with discipline, with centralist management and with an appearance of unity, it is possible to resolve those problems more easily and rapidly. However, it is a different thing with those people who want the principle of democratic centralism consciously to be changed into a tool of centralism, unitarianism and etatism. What is involved here is no longer a problem of democratic centralism but a problem of understanding the role of the LCY, a negation of our fundamental program goals and, thus, essentially, a counterrevolutionary activity. I have tried to draw attention to certain fundamental characteristics of the role, organization and activity of a party of the workers class, to problems of internal relations. In this connection I am aware that these questions are constantly present in our political practice and theory, that everyday, they demand new answers on the role, action, organization and internal relations in the organization of the workers class and in society in general.

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